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COIN DATA IN THE MAHĀBHĀRATA.

V. S. AGRAWALA, BANARAS HINDU UNIVERSITY.

It is proposed to record here the references to coin-names that I have come across in the course of my studies of the Epic. They are Nishka, Suvarṇa, Śatamāna, Sāṇa, Prati.

These references all relate to the well-known coins of the punch-marked series. There is not a single name of any coin of foreign denomination or of what are generally associated with the post-Maurya period.

NISHKA

Nishka was a gold coin :

शातकुम्भस्य शुद्धस्य शतं निष्कान् ददामि ते । (Virāṭa, 36, 39)

Kīchaka speaks to Draupadī as Sairandhrī coveting her person : 'I shall offer you one hundred Nishkas of pure gold.' This was the amount he wanted to give her every day :

अह्नाय ते वसु सुश्रोणि शतं निष्कान् ददाम्यहम् । (Virāṭa, 21, 10)

There is a more important reference in the Śāntiparvan 45.5 mentioning 1000 Nishkas distributed amongst an equal number of Brāhmaṇas by king Yudhishṭhira :

ब्राह्मणानां सहस्रं च स्नातकानां महात्मनाम् ।
सहस्रनिष्कमेकैकं वाचयामास पाण्डवः ॥

Each person is given one Nishka ; thereby the passage points to the nature of the Nishka being like a coin unit. In the charities of king Rantideva, the Nishka is the principal unit of distribution :

ब्राह्मणेभ्योऽददान्निष्कान्सौवर्णान्स प्रभावतः ।
तुभ्यं निष्कं तुभ्यं निष्कमिति ह स्म प्रभाषते ॥ 67.6
तुभ्यं तुभ्यमिति प्रादान्निष्कान्निष्कान् सहस्रशः ।
ततः पुनः समाश्वास्य निष्कानेव प्रयच्छति ॥ 67.7
अल्पं दत्तं मयाऽद्येति निष्ककोटिं सहस्रशः ।
एकाह्ना दास्यति पुनः कोन्यस्तत्सम्प्रदास्यति ॥ 67.8
सहस्रश्च सौवर्णान् वृषभान् गोशतानुगान् ।
साष्टं शतं सुवर्णानां निष्कमाहुर्धनं तथा ॥ 67.10

(Droṇaparva)

This Chapter of the Droṇaparva is relegated to the Appendix in the Critical Poona edition, but the verses with the exception of the last one, occur in the Śāntiparva version on p. 122 of the Cr. edition. Rantideva also distributes Nishkas of gold, first at the

rate of 1 Nishka to each person, making a total of a thousand Nishkas. Considering that as inadequate, he augments his charities so as to have distributed millions of Nishkas in a single day. The tempo is still further enhanced as mentioned in verse 67.10 of the Droṇaparvan according to the Vulgate edition. The verse is a little obscure in construction.

I understand it as defining the unit of gift (*dhana*) presented to each Brāhmaṇa. This *dakshiṇā* comprised firstly *sauvarṇa vṛishabha*, i. e. a bull adorned with gold accompanied by a hundred cows, secondly 108 Suvarṇas of gold, and thirdly 1 Nishka. But perhaps it would be more natural to construe the second line as making one Nishka equivalent to 108 gold Suvarṇa coins, for the same is mentioned in the *Amarakosha* :

साष्टे शते सुवर्णानां हेम्न्युरोभूषणे पले ।
दीनारेऽपि च निष्कोऽस्त्री········ ···· ॥ (III. 3. 13-14)

i. e. Nishka has four meanings—(1) 108 Suvarṇa coins ; (2) a gold ornament worn on the chest ; (3) one *pala* weight of gold which is equal to 4 *tolas* (पलं कर्षचतुष्टयम्, अमर II. 9.86) ; and (4) a *dīnāra*, i. e. the gold Denarius coin as was current in the Gupta period to which frequent reference is also made in the inscriptions. The *Kāśikā* refers to the same as आहतं रूपमस्य रूप्यो दीनारः on Pāṇini V. 2. 10 (रूपादाहतप्रशंसयोर्यप्), which was of course a contemporary illustration from Gupta numismatics, rather than from Paninian times.

Since the verse under discussion occurs only in the Vulgate text of the Epic, it may be surmised that it was a later addition made in the Gupta period, and therefore it contains the new definition of Nishka as being equivalent to 108 gold Suvarṇa coins, which, of course could have been the value for account purposes. It does not appear that the Nishka was a current coin in this period of history. The ancient meanings of Nishka as signifying an ornament of gold and a weight equal to four *tolas* were also recorded by the author of the *Amarakosha*, side by side with the two new meanings. The author of the later *Viśvaprakāśa* lexicon repeats what Amara had recorded : निष्कमष्टाधिकस्वर्णशते दीनारकर्षयोः (verse 44, p. 6).

A significant reference to Nishka occurs in the Vulgate edn. of the Anuśāsanaparva (for which the Critical text is not yet printed) :

शतेन निष्कगणितं सहस्रेण च संमितम् ।
तथा बहु प्रतीच्छन् वै पापिष्ठां पतते गतिम् ॥ (13, 43).

'A Nishka multiplied by a hundred and a Nishka measured by a thousand', do only signify one hundred and one thousand Nishkas in plain words. In the famous Bisa-stainya (Theft of

the Lotus) story, which is a well known Jātaka and of which two versions are recorded side by side in the Epic, Vasishṭha says that 100 Nishkas and 1000 Nishkas constitute the proper measure of wealth, and anyone taken up by greed for more invites sin. This reference at once reminds of Pāṇini's *sūtrā* शतसहस्रान्ताच्चनिष्कात् (V. 2. 119):

'शतान्तात् सहस्रान्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकाट्ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति मत्वर्थे, तौ चेच्छतसहस्रशब्दौ निष्कात्परौ भवतः । निष्कशतमस्यास्ति नैष्कशतिकः । नैष्कसहस्रिकः । सुवर्णनिष्कशतमस्यास्तीत्यनभिधानान्न भवति । (काशिका)

In Pāṇini's time the owner of 100 Nishkas was called a नैष्कशतिक, and of 1000 Nishkas a नैष्कसहस्रिक —real titles indicating the degree of opulence, as is implied now-a-days by the words लखपति, करोड़पति. Patañjali also uses the terms निष्कधन and शतनिष्कधन (owner of 1 Nishka and of 100 Nishkas). A reference to the unit of 100 Nishkas is found as early as the Ṛigveda (I· 126.2)—शतं राज्ञो नाधमानस्य निष्कान्, and the tradition seems to have continued down to later times. The Kuhaka Jātaka refers to a farmer bringing his hundred Nishkas of gold to an ascetic (I. 375); the Vessantara Jātaka mentions a thousand Nishkas as the amount for the redemption of Vessantara's son (VI. 546); and the Juṇha Jātaka also refers to more than a thousand gold Nishkas (IV· 97)

In the following Epic reference the probability to take Nishka as a coin piece of unform size and weight is very strong :

उपागृह्णाद्यमिन्द्राय पुराकल्पे प्रजापतिः ।
तमस्मै शंखमाहार्षीद्वारुणं कलशोदधिः ॥
सिक्तं निष्कसहस्रेण सुकृतं विश्वकर्मणा ।

(Sabhāparva, 49. 14-15)

'The particular conch which in bygone ages was presented to Indra by Prajāpati, was now brought by the Ocean to Yudhisṭhira ; the same was tied (सिक्तं) with chains of a thousand Nishkas and beautifully made by Viśvakarmā.' The variant reading for सिक्तं is शैक्यं, which should be taken as referring to the loop or swing woven with golden strings of Nishkas. The two readings seem to point to the same meaning. In Sabhāparva 45·27 there is reference to 'शैक्यं रुक्मसहस्रस्य बहुरत्नविभूषितम्' where the same kind of loop made of a thousand gold (i. e. Nishka coins) is intended (शैक्यं रत्नविरचितो भांडाधारः, gloss as cited in the Cr. edn.).

The important question is raised whether Nishka was an ornament or a coin or both. In *Ṛigveda* V. 19.3 (निष्कग्रीवो बृहदुक्थ एना मध्वा न वाजयुः) Bṛihaduktha is said to wear a chain of Nishka round his neck. It is clearly an ornament, although

it is not clear whether the chain was made of one Nishka or of many Nishkas. This custom of wearing a Nishka chain continued later, as shown by such expressions as निष्ककंठ्यः (*Aitareya Br*. 8.22), निष्किन्यः (*Śatapatha Br*. XIII. 4.1.8.), निष्की (*Jaiminīya Br*. 134, a person wearing Nishka), or even in the Epic as शतं दासी सहस्राणि···निष्ककंठ्यः स्वलंकृताः (Sabhāparva 54.12). The nature of this ornament is made more explicit by the *Ṛigveda* passage VIII. 47.15 (निष्कं वा घा कृणवते स्रजं वा दुहितर्दिवः) referring to it as निष्कं स्रजं, i. e. a garland or necklace of a single Nishka. The *Atharva* also refers to Nishka being worn round the neck (नास्य क्षत्ता निष्कग्रीवः), probably as a single piece. The single Nishka ornament is also mentioned in *Atharva* V. 14 3 (निष्कमिव प्रतिमुंचत) and XIX. 57.5 (निष्कमिव प्रतिमुंचताम्). In another place, निष्का एते यजमानस्य लोके (*Atharva*, VII. 104.1) the reference is to many a Nishka with the Yajamāna, which as Griffith renders, may have been the Nishka necklets, rather than loose Nishka pieces. The mention of one hundred gold Nishkas is repeated in *Atharva* XX. 131.5 (शतं निष्का हिरण्ययाः) and XX. 127.3 (एष इषाय मामहे शतं निष्कान् दशस्रजः), where it is more probable that the Nishkas are separate pieces of gold having a uniform weight and size ; specially in the latter case where the Nishkas are distinguished from the ten garlands or necklaces (दशस्रजः ; cf. निष्कं स्रजं of *Ṛigveda* VIII. 47.15), it is tempting to take Nishka as coins.

Indeed these early references to a hundred and a thousand Nishkas seem to force on us the conclusion that the Nishka was current as a coin, or serving the same use for all practical purposes. There is, however, the stark fact that amongst the thousands and thousands of the ancientmost coins of the punch-marked variety not a single gold coin has up to now been found. The negative evidence, although weakening, cannot however be said to be final and conclusive to preclude the possibility of the Nishka being used as a coin, specially when as students of numismatic history we remember that very few of the heavy gold *mohurs* of the Mughals minted barely three centuries before have survived and some of their gigantic coins are known to us merely from literary records. It is obvious that the Nishka constituted the wealth of rich persons (cf. निष्कमाहुर्धनं तथा) who on that basis became famous as नैष्कशतिक (= निष्कशतधन) and नैष्कसहस्रिक (= निष्कसहस्रधन) amongst their fellowmen.

The reference to the Nishka in the *Dhammapada* stating it to be of the purest Jambūnada gold appears to mention something of which the metallic standard and nature were well understood (निक्खं जम्बोनदस्सेव को तं निन्दितुमरहति, 230). In the *Śatapatha Br*. XI. 4.1.1. Uddālaka Aruṇi of Kuru-Pañchāla

offers a Nishka as the prize of disputation, and he being worsted by Svaidāyana of the Udīchya country parts with it to him (तस्मै ह निष्कं प्रददौ, अनूचानः स्वैदायनासि सुवर्णं वाव सुवर्णविदे ददतीति, *Śatapatha* XI. 4.1.8); in this context Eggeling takes Nishka to be a coin.

SUVARṆA

Kauṭilya does not mention the Nishka either as a weight or a coin, but refers to Suvarṇa forming part of the weight system as current in the Mauryan epoch : धान्यमाषा दश सुवर्णमाषकः पंच वा गुंजाः, ते षोडश सुवर्णः कर्षो वा (*Artha*. II. 19), i. e. 10 seeds of *māsha* (Phraseolus Radiatus) or 5 seeds of *guñjā* berry make one Suvarṇa-Māshaka, and 16 such Suvarṇa-Māshakas make one Suvarṇa (i. e. a weight of 80 *guñjās*), also called Karsha, and 4 such Karshas make one Pala. It is the latter that was regarded as the weight equivalent of a Nishka. Continuing the *Arthaśāstra* says : One Suvarṇa, two Suvarṇas, four Suvarṇas, eight Suvarṇas, ten Suvarṇas, twenty Suvarṇas, thirty Suvarṇas, forty Suvarṇas, and one hundred Suvarṇas are different units of weight (*Artha*. II. 19). The evidence in the *Arthaśāstra* is silent about the existence of the Suvarṇa coin as part of currency. In giving a list of coins the names are limited to those of silver and copper only :

लक्षणाध्यक्षः चतुर्भागताम्रं रूप्यरूपं तीक्ष्णत्रपुसीसांजनानामन्यतमं माषबीजयुक्तं कारयेत्।

पणम्, अर्धपणम्, पादम्, अष्टभागम् इति। पादाजीवं ताम्ररूपं माषकम्, अर्धमाषकम्, काकणीम्, अर्धकाकणीम् इति।

Silver Coins—Paṇa, Half-Paṇa, Quarter-Paṇa, One-Eighth-Paṇa.

Smaller Coins—Māshaka, Half-Māshaka, Kākaṇī, Half-Kākaṇī.

The same were most probably minted in copper also, but the text does not specifically describe them. The Suvarṇa is only a weight and not a coin in the Arthaśāstra. However, when we turn to the evidence in the Epic, we are confronted with the fact that it is a coin implied in these descriptions. For example, the following passage in the Vanaparva :

शतं शतसहस्राणि सुवर्णस्य जनार्दन।
एकैकस्मिंस्तदा यज्ञे परिपूर्णानि भागशः॥ (13.23)

Arjuna says to Kṛishṇa, 'In one of your previous lives you performed a sacrifice in which you gave away ten million (शतं शतसहस्राणि) Suvarṇas, completing this large number by means of so many units fixed for the *dakshiṇā* or the fee to be

paid to the Brāhmaṇas (भागशः परिपूर्णानि). Here one crore Suvarṇas cannot but be coins of that name. But there intervenes a significant consideration, and it is about the date of this particular passage. It seems to me that it is a Bhāgavata patch grafted on the main story some time during the Gupta period. It forms part of the many exploits of Krishna enumerated by Arjuna under the inspiration of the Nara-Nārāyaṇa doctrine as developed under the Bhāgavata or Pañcharātra cult. In that case the reference to millions of Suvarṇa coins distributed at the time of a *yajña* by Bhagavān Krishṇa may be but a veiled reference to such an event in the Gupta period by one of the Gupta emperors, probably Samudragupta or his son Chandragupta, who were regarded by their contemporaries as completely identified with Nārāyaṇa except for the fact that they were required to satisfy the human needs to keep up their physical bodies (cf. लोकसमयक्रियानुविधानमात्र मानुषस्य, Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta). This particular reference to countless Suvarṇa coins is therefore not beyond suspicion. Let us take another case :

शकास्तुषाराः कंकाश्च रोमशाः श्रृङ्गिणो नराः ।
महागमान् दूरगमान् गणितानर्बुदान् हयान् ॥
कोटिशश्चैव बहुशः सुवर्णं पद्मसंमितम् ।
बलिमादाय विविधं द्वारि तिष्ठन्ति वारिताः ॥

(Sabhāparva 47. 26-27)

The Śakas, the Tushāras, the Kaṅkas (Kankus of Chinese history settled in Sogdiana), the Romans and Śriṅgins (probably Sassanians with ram's horns in the headdress, as found in several specimens at Mathura)—these brought as presents countless swift horses and many crores of pure Suvarṇa (i. e. Suvarṇa coins counted by millions & billions).

This on the face of it is a description compiled in the post-Kushāṇa period. As a matter of fact the passage forms part of the Bali-āharaṇa chapters, Nos. 47-48 of the Sabhāparva which mention even the Chīnas and the Hūṇas, the Bālhīs and the Hārahūṇas, the Śailodā and the *kīchaka* bamboos of Central Asia and many other geographical historical and economic facts which could have been brought together only in the Gupta period. Moreover, in introducing this account it is expressly stated that Vaiśampāyana agreed to recite an inflated version of an event previously communicated in a concise form :

श्रृणु मे विस्तरेणेमां कथां भरतसत्तम ।
भूय एव महाराज यदि ते श्रवणे मतिः ॥ (Sabhāparva, 46.5).

In all such cases the interlocutors are Janamejaya and

Vaiśampāyana who oblige each other with a 'Query' and a 'Reply'.

The next reference to Suvarṇa as a term of numismatic interest is the following :

तास्रलोहैः परिवृताः निधयो ये चतुःशताः ।
पंचद्रौणिक एकैकः सुवर्णस्याहतस्य वै ॥

This is put in the mouth of Yudhishṭhira in the gambling scene who puts on stake his royal treasures which consisted of four hundred copper jars, each containing five Droṇa measures of punch-marked gold. निधि, ताम्रलोह, पंचद्रौणिक and आहतसुवर्ण are technical and special words, of which the last one is related to punch-marked coinage, as in Pāṇini's *sūtra* रूपादाहतप्रशंसयोर्यप् (V. 2. 120), which shows that a symbol (रूप[1]) was punched (आहत) on a metallic piece during the process of manufacturing coins in Pāṇini's time. This was the *signati argenti* of the Greek historian Quintius Curtius who writes about them : 'The mode of manufacturing these coins was first to get ready a hammered sheet, which was then cut into strips, and sub-divided into lengths of approximately the desired weight, which was adjusted by clipping the corners when necessary.' This observation holds literally true with reference to the silver punch-marked coins, which were beginning to be fabricated much earlier in the time of king Bimbisāra to serve as the local currency of Rājagṛiha as recorded in the Pali texts — तदा राजगहे वीसतिमासको कहापणो होति, *Samantapāsādikā* commentary on Sutta Vibhaṅga, Pārājika II. 1. 6, *Vinaya Piṭaka*, ed. by Oldenberg, Vol. III, p. 45). It can very will be imagined that the process of punching symbols must have undergone a preceding stage of evolution before its application to public coinage like the silver punch-marked coins. That stage is hinted at in the epic passage under reference. The आहत सुवर्ण deposited in the royal treasury was that which was stamped with some kind of symbols indicating ownership and locality. Before doing so the metal would have been subjected to some similar mode of preliminary fabrication by being converted into strips and pieces of an approximately uniform weight and size. After all, the gold in the royal treasury could be put to practical use and disbursement only when it was so marked.

It may seem natural that gold was stocked in the treasury both as *hiraṇya* or ingots and as *suvarṇa* or in stamped form. The former was called *akṛita* and the latter *kṛita*. We are permitted

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1. Referring to symbols on banners, the Mbh. calls them रूप (Droṇa parva, 80.2, ध्वजान् बहुविधाकारान् शृणु तेषां महात्मनाम् । रूपतो वर्णतश्चैव नामतश्च निबोध मे ॥) and on cows लक्ष (Āraṇyakaparva 229.4 अंकैर्लक्षैश्च ताः सर्वा लक्षयामास पार्थिवः ।).

a glimpse into the royal treasury of the Andhaka-Vṛishṇi Saṅgha from which ten head-loads, i. e. twent-five maunds (दश मनुष्यभार)[1] of कृताकृतसुवर्ण were taken by Krishṇa as presents for Subhadrā's dowry :

कृताकृतस्य मुख्यस्य कनकस्याग्निवर्चसः ।
मनुष्यभारान् दाशार्हो ददौ दश जनार्दनः ॥
(Ādi. 213, 46)

What is called मुख्य here is the same as श्रेष्ठ of the *Arthaśāstra* (किंजल्कवर्णं मृदुस्निग्धमनादि भ्राजिष्णु च श्रेष्ठम्, II. 13), which had been refined to the highest standard of purity of sixteen वर्णकाऽ (called सोलहबानी in Hindi, or षोडशक in Sanskrit in accordance with a very technical process known as सलोनी or what Kauṭilya mentions as सैन्धविका).[2]

ŚATAMĀNA

The name Śatamāna occurs in a passage which is rather unusually specific :

अष्टौ शाणाः शतमानं वहन्ति
तथाष्टपादः शरभः सिंहघाती ।
अष्टौ वसून् शुश्रुम देवतासु
यूपश्चाष्टास्त्रिर्विहितः सर्वयज्ञः ॥ (Vanaparva 134. 14)

This is the utterance of Ashṭāvakra in his disputation with Bandī in the court of Janaka in a series of Kumāra-Praśnas (Pali *kumāra-pañha*) which were based on numerals and proceeded in quick repartees in the manner of a *vākovākya*. It signifies

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1. According to the table given in the Amarakosha (II. 9, 87)
1 भार = 800 कर्ष = 2000 पल = 2½ mds.

This is also supported by Kauṭilya who makes

1 भार = 20 तुला, and 1 तुला = 100 पल, i. e.

1 भार = 200 पल.

10 मनुष्य भार = 1 महाभार = 1 शाकट भार,

a cart-load, also called आचित (see V. S. Agrawala, *India as known to Pāṇini*, p. 254).

For much higher quantities of gold in terms of भार, see—

शतभार सुवर्णानि समादाय पुरोत्तमम् । सहस्रं भारमादाय सुवर्णानां ततोऽर्जुन ॥

i. e. Arjuna came backe to Indraprstha, bringing with him tributes of gold weighing शतभार and सहस्रभार from kings of South India (स्कन्दपुराण, ब्रह्मखंड, सेतुमाहात्म्य, 21. 45).

2. cf. my paper, The Highest Purity of Gold in India, *JNSI*, XVI. 270–274.—I still propose to discuss the relevant evidence of the Arthaśāstra in a separate paper.

that both the शाण and the शतमान were too well-known, even amongst children, and their mutual exchange value was also fixed as happens in the case of coins of established denomination and usage.

To understand the significance of शतमान we should look to its earlier history in the later Vedic literature. The word is conspicuous by absence in the four Saṁhitās ; only once it occurs in the Yajurveda XIX. 93, but in quite a different sense ('hundred-fold' form and life, रूपं शतमानमायुः). It is found several times in the शतपथ ब्राह्मणः —

(१) तस्यै त्रीणि शतमानानि हिरण्यानि दक्षिणा (५।५।५।१६)

(२) तस्यैतस्य कर्मण एतावेव शतमानौ प्रवृत्तौ दक्षिणा (५।४।३।२६)

(३) सुवर्णं हिरण्यं भवति रूपस्यावरुद्ध्यै शतमानं भवति शतायुर्वै पुरुषः (१२।७।२।१३)

(४) हिरण्यं दक्षिणा सुवर्णं शतमानं तस्योक्तं ब्राह्मणम् (१३।२।३।२।)

(५) चत्वारि च सुवर्णानि शतमानानि हिरण्यानि (१३।४।१।१६)

(६) हिरण्यं दक्षिणा सुवर्णं शतमानं तस्योक्तम् (१३।४।१।१३)

(७) रजतं हिरण्यं दक्षिणा नानारूपतया शतमानं भवति शतायुर्वै पुरुषः (१३।४।२।१०)

[Gold and silver are given as guerdon in the form of Śatamāna since the Śatamāna is bimetallic, and Śatamāna is selected to correspond to the hundred years of a man's life].

It is certain from the above that Satamāna was originally of gold and later of silver also and that its weight was one hundred *mānas*, as it is compared to the hundred years of human life. What was the nature of this *māna* ? For an answer we have to turn to the Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra :

(१) तिस्रस्तिस्रो दक्षिणा ददाति शतमानानि ब्रह्मणे (१५।७।३३)

(२) रथवाहणस्य दक्षिणेऽन्ते शतमानौ आसजति वृत्तौ (१५।६।३०)

(३) शतमानं ददाति (२०।५।६)

(४) शतमाने (२६।२।१७)

In the last citation the two Śatamānas include one of gold and the other of silver, according to the commentators (एकं रजत-शतमानं द्वितीयं सुवर्णशतमानम्), who also are particular to mention that the शतमान was equal to one hundred *raktikā* seeds (सुवर्णरक्तिकाशतेन एकं शतमानं भवति). It was most probably on this basis that the authors of the *Vedic Index* take *māna* of the vedic literature as a measure of weight equivalent to the Kṛishṇala or Raktikā (II. 152).

Although originally the शतमान was connected with gold, it was in the latest stages of the Brāhmaṇa literature that silver

शतमानs also began to be made, as is shown by the last citation of the Śatapatha Br.: 'Gold and silver will be the fee for the sake of variety to correspond to the manifold forms of the deity, and that *dakshiṇā* will be Śatamāna, since a human being lives for one hundred years'. That the Śatamāna in gold and silver existed side by side in the Sūtra period, is shown by the following two references in the Kātyāyana Śrauta-sūtra, coming on the heels of Brahmanical references cited above :

(१) शतमानं दक्षिणा सौवर्णम् (२०।१।२२)

(२) द्वादशकपालान्निर्वपति भिन्नतन्त्राञ्छतमानदक्षिणान् मध्यमस्य राजतः ....(२०।२।६)

The first mentions the Śatamāna of gold and the second of silver.

There should be no reasonable doubt about the suggested weight of the Śatamāna, 'measuring one hundred' (शत-मान), corresponding to a hundred units of a smaller weight standard, which as the commentators (both Sāyaṇa and Karka) understand could only have been the Raktikā. The Kṛishṇala or Raktikā was well known in the period of the later Saṁhitās (cf. पंचकृष्णला-न्यपि प्रयाजेषु जुहुयात्, Maitrāyaṇī Saṁ. II. 2.2 ; also Taittirīya Saṁ. II. 3.2.1). According to the Taittirīya Br. (I. 3.6.7) a Kṛishṇa to each person was distributed in the Vājapeya sacrifice, most likely it was a Kṛishṇala wt. of gold. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, like the authors of the *Vedic Index*, had accepted this weight of the Śatamāna, taking *māna* to be a Rattī. Dr. Keith mentions this very natural inference about the Śatamāna being "in the *Brāhmaṇas* a piece of gold in weight equivalent to a hundred Kṛishṇalas" (*Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 137).

There is, however, the later evidence about the weight of the Śatamāna, from Manu and Yājñvalkya which must be disposed of in this connection :

द्वे कृष्णले समधृते विज्ञेयो रौप्यमाषकः ।
ते षोडश स्याद् धरणं पुराणं चैव राजतम् ॥
धरणानि दश ज्ञेयः शतमानस्तु राजतः ॥ (मनु ८।१३५-१३७)
द्वे कृष्णले रौप्यमाषो धरणं षोडशैव ते ।
शतमानं तु दशभिर्धरणं पलमेव तु ॥ (याज्ञ० १।३६४-३६५)

Both authorities agree about the following facts :

2 Kṛishṇalas = 1 Raupya-Māsha
16 Raupya-Mashas = 1 Dharaṇa, also called Purāṇa = 32 Kṛishṇalas
10 Dharaṇas = 1 Śatamāna = 320 Kṛishṇalas

The above held good in the case of silver coins called Raupya-Māsha and Purāṇa weighing 32 Raktikās. There is, however, no numismatic evidence about the actual finding of a silver Śatamāna weighing 320 Raktikās. The only probable explanation seems to be that the old definition of a Śatamāna of 100 Raktikās no longer held good, since no actual specimens of the above weight standard were being minted in the post-Mauryan period, but Śatamāna continued as a money of account under the changed valuation of 320 Raktikā weight. A similar phenomenon may be traced with respect to the gold coinage also :

पञ्च कृष्णलको माषस्ते सुवर्णस्तु षोडश ।
पलं सुवर्णाश्चत्वारः पलानि धरणं दश ॥ (मनु० ८।१३४-३५)

i.e. 5 Krishṇalas = 1 Gold Māsha
16 Māshas = 1 Suvarṇa = 80 Krishṇalas
4 Suvarṇas = 1 Pala = 320 Kṛishṇalas

Dr. D. C. Sircar had drawn pointed attention to the problem of the two-fold weight of the Śatamāna (The Śatamāna, *JNSI*, XV, pp. 136-147), but it is quite easy to reconcile the supposed discrepancy by looking at things in the historical perspective and interpreting the earlier Śatamāna of the Brāhmaṇas and the Śrautasūtras as a phenomenon of the later Vedic and the Sūtra period and the heavier Śatamāna as a money for account purposes only (व्यावहारिक शतमान) arrived at sometime in the post-Śuṅga period. As he himself was able to see, 'There was in actual use no silver coin weighing 320 Ratīs' (ibid., p. 140), and also 'that no silver coin weighing 320 Ratīs has ever been discovered' (ibid. p. 140).

We therefore believe that the Śatamāna referred to in the Mbh. passage above and equal to 8 Śāṇa coins was the same as the earlier Śatamāna of Vedic tradition weighing 100 Raktikās.

Here we may consider another passage from the Epic which lends support to the above inference :

स त्वमातिष्ठ योगं तं येन शीघ्रा हया मम ।
भवेयुरश्वाध्यक्षोऽसि वेतनं ते शतं शताः ॥ (आरण्यकपर्व 64.6)

King Ṛituparṇa of Ayodhyā appoints king Nala as his Superintendent of Horses (*Aśvādhyaksha*) and fixes his salary as **शतं शताः**, which is rather an obscure expression. The variant **शतं शतं**, meaning 10,000, was an attempt to simplify a difficult text. The original **शतं शताः** signifies one hundred Śatamāna coins, where **शत** is but a shorter form for **शतमान.**

Let us look at it from the evidence in the *Arthaśāstra*. As stated in this text the salary of Govt. officers was paid on a

monthly basis, unless otherwise stated. Therefore at the rate of 100 Śatamāna coins per mensem (शतं शताः), the amount of annual salary would be 1200. Śatamāna coins. Taking 1 Śatamāna coin to weigh 100 Raktikās of silver, 1200 Śatamānas would mean an emolument of 1,20,000 Raktikās of silver, which comes to 3,750 Kārshāpaṇa coins of silver (1 Kārshāpaṇa being equal to 32 Raktikās).

According to the Civil List given in the *Arthaśāstra* the emolument of 4,000 Kārshāpaṇas was to be paid per year to an Aśvādhyaksha (*Arth.* V. 3). The two figures as worked out from the Epic evidence and as stated in Kauṭilya (viz. 3,750 and 4,000 Kārshāpaṇas respectively) are in suprisingly approximate agreement with each other.

ŚĀṆA

The first Epic reference about Śatamāna (अष्टौ शाणाः शतमानं वहन्ति, Āraṇyakaparva, 134.14) gives to the Śāṇa coin an unusual certainty, the latter being one-eighth the former in weight. Thus the theoretical weight of a Śāṇa coin was 12·5 Raktikās or 22·5 grains.

Śāṇa was a popular coin in the time of Pāṇini who refers to it in two sūtras, V, 1·35 and VII, 3·17 (शाणाद्वा, परिमाणान्त-स्यासंज्ञाशाणयोः) The several grammatical forms अध्यर्धशाणम्, अध्यर्धशाण्यम्; द्विशाणम्, द्विशाण्यम्, द्वैशाणम्; त्रिशाणम्, त्रैशाणम्, त्रिशाण्यम्, to which Patañjali adds पंचशाणम्, पंचशाण्यम्—indicate that it must have been quite a common coin.

I have elsewhere discussed more fully the available evidence about the Śāṇa coins and the Śāṇa weight (*India as Known to Pāṇini*, p. 263; A New Type of Śāṇa Coin, *JNSI*, XIV. pp. 22-25) to which I should like to refer the reader. However, it may be noted that actual specimens of Śāṇa coin have been discovered in Orissa (ibid), and a big hoard of 60,000 coins from Śingavaran in the Krishna district of Andhra also consisted of the Śāṇa coins.

KĀRSHĀPAṆA

The coin name Kārshāpaṇa is unknown to the entire Saṁhita and Brāhmaṇa literature, except in a solitary passage of the *Sāmavidhāna Br.* III. 7.9. The roots पण and पणि are known in the Brāhmaṇas, but the nouns पण and कार्षापण are unknown. I have not come across these names in the *Mahābhārata* so far. But the coin is so well known in the Ashṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini (c. 500 B.C.), the Jātakas, the Arthaśāstra and the Mahābhashya that it is hardly possible that in the period of the literary compilation of the Mbh. this particular coin could have been unknown.

Of this we have some secondary proof. When Pāṇini refers to big sums (V. 1·27; 29; 34) without specifying the name of the coin it is the silver Kārshāpaṇa that was meant as being the standard coin of the country (cf. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, *Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 74). The Gaṅgamāla Jātaka mentions big amounts of a hundred thousand and fifty thousand pieces where Kārshāpaṇa is the money to be understood. Similar linguistic forms are known to Kauṭilya (the Arthaśāstra referring to **शत सहस्र, पंचाशत् सहस्र, दशसहस्र, पंचसहस्र, सहस्र, शत** and **विंशति** coins) and to Patañjali (**महाभाष्य** II. 1·69, **शतेनक्रीतं शत्यं शाटकशतम्**, etc., *India as known to Pāṇini*, pp. 264-265).

Similar linguistic idioms are familiar to the Epic :

अयं सहस्रसमितो वैयाघ्रः सुप्रवर्तितः ।
राजरथः............................ ॥ (सभा ६४।४)

i.e. a chariot upholstered with tigers' skin (**वैयाघ्रराजरथ**) and valued at 1000 (Kārshāpaṇas) was offered as a wager by Yudhishṭhira in the gambling scence.

Again,

न कश्चिदाहरत्तत्र सहस्रावरमर्हणम् ।
रत्नैश्च बहुभिस्तत्र धर्मराजमवर्धयन् ॥ (सभा ३२।१०)

i. e. no one brought a tribute of less than a thousand (Kārshāpaṇas).

Another important reference is :

एकं शतसहस्रेण संमितं राष्ट्रवर्धनम् । (आदि २१८।६-७)

which mentions a golden bow (**धनुरत्न**) having the estimated value of a hundred thousand (Kārshāpaṇas)

Similarly in Sabhā 3·6 (**सा वै शतसहस्रस्य संमिता सर्वघातिनी**) a club studded with gold (**सुवर्णबिन्दुभिश्चित्रा**) is valued at one lac (of Kārshāpaṇa coins).

These references can be valid only against the background of a Kārshāpaṇa currency.

PRATI

The Jātakas refer to the current coin as Kahāpaṇa, Pāṇini as Kārshāpaṇa and Kauṭilya as Paṇa. Kātyāyana on Pāṇini V. 1. 25 records one more name, viz. Prati (**कार्षापणाद्वा प्रतिश्च**). It is likely that this new name became current in about the fourth century B. C. The Sabhāparva refers to it in a passage which forms part of the Nārada-Rājanīti :

कच्चिद् बीजं च भक्तं च कर्षकायावसीदते ।
प्रतिकं च शतं वृद्ध्या ददास्यृणमनुग्रहम् ॥ (सभा ५।६८)

'Do you provide to the peasantry in distress agricultural seed and food, and do you also advance relief loans (अनुग्रहऋण) at the rate of 1 per cent interest ?' This coin name is also mentioned in the Nasik Cave Ins. of Ushavadāta recording 1 Pratika interest on 2000 and ¾ Pratika on 1000 Kahāpaṇas deposited with some guilds (*Ep. Ind.* VIII. 82). I have dealt with this evidence more fully in *JNSI*, VII. 32, 'Prati as a Coin Name'.

NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE AND HISTORICAL WRITING

A. K. Narain

INTRODUCTION

Numismatics is a source, indispensable for the study of ancient history and civilisation, and often for other periods, just as family papers, newspapers and so on are indispensable sources for a modernist. In order to comprehend historiography, the source is as important as the historian himself ; often it may be more significant, and its nature and utilisation may affect the approach of the historian and his idea of history.

Historians of some periods are accustomed to the use of written evidence. They understand how to handle such evidence, and are capable of criticising it. But they are reluctant to deal with materials whose character and limitations they do not fully appreciate. It is perhaps this difficulty that prevents a more perfect co-ordination of history and archæology. The historian often fails to realise that while coinage can and should be used as illustration, like every surviving material document of the past, it is also primary historical evidence in its own right.

Unlike the physical scientist, the historian studies events not accessible to his direct observation. He studies these events inferentially from data which are accessible to his observation ; and the accessible material from which the historian infers the events in which he is interested is what he calls "evidence". The knowledge by virtue of which a man is an historian is a knowledge of what the evidence at his disposal proves about certain events.

An historian's evidence can be classified as consisting of "written sources" and "unwritten sources"—or, to be more precise, the "literary" and "non-literary" sources ; coins come under the second category. By making use of non-literary sources, such as coins, the historian at once broadens the basis of history, since by thus widening his range of material the obsession of "authority", from which an historian is likely to suffer when using only the "literary" sources, receives a salutary challenge, and the outcome is not scepticism but broader vision. This is not to underestimate the value of "written sources", but only to emphasise the creative use of other sources which provides welcome relief from the 'scissor-and-paste' method of history.

Coins as a source of history have two roles to play. Firstly, they confirm and exemplify history known from other sources. Secondly, they throw light on branches of history for which no other evidence is available from other sources. Undoubtedly, in their second role coins are of immense value to a historian ; and it is this role which is generally emphasised by historians of ancient periods. But even in their first role coins afford a broader perspective to a historian, though it is a pity that some historians generally do not avail themselves of this. These two functions of coins as historical sources depend upon the abundance or paucity of other, particularly of written, data.

THE NATURE OF NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE :

It is essential for an historian to understand the nature of his evidence before he can interpret it and before historiography may utilise his interpretation to advantage.

The nature of numismatic evidence is partly internal and partly external. The internal evidence pertains to the physical body of the coin itself, while the external evidence concerns with the outside association of the coins.

A. THE INTERNAL EVIDENCE

(i) *Coin-Types.*

The mark whose presence constitutes a coin is spoken of by numismatists as a "type". It seems probable that from the earliest period the right of striking money was vested in the state, although a monarch or a sovereign people might on occasion delegate the privilege to governors of distant provinces or to generals engaged on a campaign. It certainly came very soon to be looked upon as an indispensable attribute of political independence. Hence a remarkable variety of the Hellenic coinage, for in Hellas each city was a separate political entity and its money was a visible token of its autonomy. It was essential that there should be no risk of confusion with the money of its neighbours. A distinctive type, therefore, unless there is something else on the coin to make further distinction, means a a distinct authority.

The distinctive type may be symbolic or otherwise. It may be inspired by religious feelings or personal idiosyncracies, commercial considerations or political motives, but it is certainly inspired by some idea.

(ii) *Symbols, monograms etc.*

The word "symbol" is used by numismatists to denote any secondary device which may appear side by side with the

main type without being connected with it organically. A "symbol" may become a "type" if it can constitute a coin by itself, either independently or by being organically associated with a "type". The fundamental difference between a "type" and a "symbol" is the subservience of the latter to the former. "Symbols", like "types", may be inspired by various considerations. They may be meaningful or just decorative. Monograms and mint-marks, for instance, are meaningful symbols ; thus a "symbol" may indicate a mint-city or a mint-master, a governor, a satrap or a magistrate or even the name of an artist or an engraver. "Symbols" are of great value in checking the "types" and distinguishing the *species* of one *genus* of coin.

(iii) *Inscriptions on coin.*

Inscriptions may be very short, giving the mere name of a king and that not always complete. They may be long, giving not only the full name of the king and his title but also the full name and the title of his father. They may sing the praise deserved or otherwise, of a king or a people, or they may boast of deeds which amused a king but which may perplex an historian. They may commemorate events or they may just bear a date and mention the denomination. They may shout propaganda, but they may also make subtle references to unique achievements otherwise unknown. Inscriptions on coins are important not only because they name the authority which issued the coins, but also because they tell the historian something about that authority.

(iv) *Portraiture.*

All representations of the heads of kings on coins are not portraits but those which do come into this category are again useful to the historian. Though there may always remain a margin of error, these portraits sometimes tell the historian of the time-range of a king's reign, and moreover they may betray more convincingly than even a biography, the character and personality of the king.

(v) *Style and fabric.*

The style and fabric of a coin may be of a fine execution or it may be degenerate. Though often it is very risky to make inferences from stylistic variations, it may sometimes help in the classification of events or ideas. But good style may sometimes give a false idea of political stability and cultural achievements, when in fact it may mean nothing more than that a particular issuing authority had good engravers or artists at its disposal.

(vi) *Metrology and Metallurgy of Coins.*

Coins follow a weight system, which may be accurate or approximate; and their metrology may be influenced by trade considerations, or it may merely follow a convention established by practice. But fluctuations in metrology may be due to a period of stringency, political or economic, in the life of the issuing authority.

A king or a people may strike coins in one or two metals or even more. But there may also be noticed debasement of metals and differences in the proportion of alloys, which may also indicate periods of financial difficulty.

B. THE EXTERNAL EVIDENCE

(i) *Geographical distribution of coins.*

The circulation of coins need not always be confined to the dominion of the issuing sovereign power. They may travel far beyond the borders of such dominions under curious circumstances; their geographical distribution may often indicate either political conquest or close commercial relations, but sometimes it indicates nothing more than the wide popularity of a coin-series. Coins may also travel with pilgrims to religious places.

(ii) *Coin-hoards.*

Hoarding of units of value is perhaps one of the immemorial practices of mankind. Coins as units of value provide very convenient material for hoarding. Hoarding of coins may be a conscious practice on the part of an individual or a family, but it may also be merely casual. And there are some deposits which are obviously not 'hoards', because they may cover centuries of offerings to a religious object made by a multitude of people. 'Hoards' and not 'deposits' or 'treasures' are of particular importance. Hoards are in fact historical documents protected by human agency against human dangers.

Hoards may give a quantitative idea of the money issued by an authority or may tell the qualitative value of a coin-series. The composition of a hoard, whether it is deliberate or fortuitous, may give additional knowledge. A coin-hoard may be homogeneous or heterogeneous in its content.

(iii) *Archæological excavations.*

Coins are sometimes found among the objects brought to light by archæological excavations. Such excavations may yield hoards of coins or just stray pieces. But the fact of being discovered in course of archæological excavations immediately brings them in association with other factors, which may

sometimes help in the precise utilisation of the material. Coins may be discovered in stratified layers or they may be found in refuse pits. The context of coins found in archæological excavations may be very significant.

(iv) *Overstrikings.*

A coin when it is overstruck by the emblem or inscription (or both) of another authority is known as an "overstrike". An "overstrike" generally shows the traces of the understrike and it is then that the association of the original coin with an outside element, that is, a foreign coin-type, may become of great value to the historian. An "overstrike" may be due to the conquest of the state in which the "understrike" circulates ; but a king may also overstrike a piece issued by a preceding authority in his own kingdom, with or without the implication of a violent succession to the throne. Overstrikes may also occasionally occur as a result of the circulation of foreign coins captured as booty or received as tribute.

SOME BASIC ASSUMPTIONS AND LIMITATIONS OF THE NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE :

We have seen how numismatics can be utilised with advantage for the historiography of ancient India. But what are the basic assumptions of a numismatist which govern the utilisation of coin-evidence by the historian and what are the limitations ?

A. (i) *Conservatism*

There is much conservatism in regard to the types and the fabric of coins ; their main characteristics have often remained unchanged, not only by changes of dynasty, but even by the transference of power from one people to another. Homogeneous coinages are to be found only in cases of kingdoms of restricted area such as Kashmir. This conservatism is largely due to the habits of the people, who grow used to certain coin-types and refuse to accept others.

(ii) *Imitation*

This follows from conservatism. In some cases the new king or people do not understand the meaning and significance of the local type, or the mint-master at their disposal can only reproduce the type concerned quite rudely, and so imitations of the original, followed by imitations of the imitations, continue. Thus a coin-series may afford an interesting study in degeneration, for instance, the *Gadhiya-paisā* of the Hindu mediaeval period.

(iii) *Provenance and migration of coins*

Numismatists often argue not from sporadic finds but from regular finds in particular areas. This is the 'provenance' of coins. The mere 'geographical distribution' of coins may not lead us anywhere, for, it includes besides the provenance area of a particular coin-series also areas where a coin may travel by way of trade or with pilgrims. It is important to note, therefore, that coins migrate; if gold and silver pieces go with the trader, the copper go with the pilgrims. A coin of Menander has been found in Pembrokeshire, but this does not prove that he ruled in Wales.

B. *Limitations*

So long as coins, or for that matter any evidence, are not required to prove more than they reasonably can, they are useful to the historian. The limitations of the numismatic evidence to the historian are due to certain obvious considerations which we list below.

(i) The very nature of the numismatic evidence circumscribes its scope; a small coin has no space to tell the historian more about history.

(ii) Sometimes false assumptions may be made owing to the chance that no coins of a particular king or people have been found, though in some cases kings or peoples may not have actually issued coins. Thus accepted conclusions can always be modified or overthrown by new discoveries.

(iii) Coins of ancient civilisations are just *Sūtras* without commentaries in the absence of mint-records. The absence of mint-records in ancient civilisations is, however, to some extent compensated for, though very poorly, by literary or epigraphic data.

(iv) A hoard of coins is not necessarily a cross-section of the currency of the period to which it is assigned. It may represent the accumulated treasure of a period of many years. A 'hoard' must be distinguished, therefore, from a 'treasure'.

(v) The fineness of surviving gold and silver coins of a particular type does not necessarily mean that debased ones were never issued. The fine survivors may be those which were withdrawn from circulation and hoarded, while the others remained in circulation and are lost.

(vi) The presence of coins or hoards of coins of foreign origin may be due to commercial relationship, as in the case of Roman coins found in India. But the copy of a foreign coin-type may not always be due to commerce but to the popularity of a type sanctioning a convention, as in the case of the Maria Theresa dollars of Abyssinia.

SOME MORE NEW COINS FROM PADMĀVATĪ

H. V. TRIVEDI

In two of the preceding numbers of this *Journal*[1] I have published some new types of coins from Padmāvatī, the ancient site of Padam-Pawāyā in the Gwalior district of Madhya Pradesh. As they differ in type from the Nāga series of coins to be obtained in abundance on this site, I tentatively took them to be local coins of that place, on the basis of their provenance. Recently, while examining and sorting the collection of the Archaeological Museum, Gwalior, I came across some more new types of coins, all procured from the same site, and I publish them here. For want of evidence nothing more about their attribution can be said; however, from their symbols they appear to be current even earlier than those of the Nāga series of coins; and as such, they go to show that Padam-Pawāyā, which is now a small village at the confluence of the rivers Sindh and Pārā, must have been a place of great importance even before it came to be the capital of the Nāga rulers.

I. EARLY SINGLE TYPE SILVER COINS

(1) Æ.; rectangular, ·4″ × ·35″; weight 33·54 grains.

Obverse: Indistinct animal to r.; on r. edge, two taurines with their tops joined to each other and with faint traces of still another symbol between them; below, a curve and some other indistinct symbols.
(Pl. IX, 1)

Reverse: Some indistinct and obliterated symbols.
(Pl. IX, 23; enlarged)

(2) Æ.: rectangular, ·3″ × ·45 : weight 22·5 grains.

Obverse: As on No. 1, but without the traces of the symbol between the two taurines on the r. edge.
(Pl. IX, 2)

Reverse: As on No. 1.

(3) Æ.; rectangular, .4″ × .3″; weight 21.09 grains.
(Pl. IX, 24, enlarged)

Obverse: As on No. 2, with r. edge slightly clipped.
(Pl. IX, 3)

1. XVII, ii, p. 38; XVIII, i, p. 67.

Reverse : As on No. 2.

(Pl. X, 1, enlarged)

(4) AR. ; rectangular, .3″ × .35″ ; weight 24 grains.

Obverse : As on No. 3 ; symbols partial and overlapping.

(Pl. IX, 4)

Reverse : As on No. 3 ; a taurine is completely visible.

(Pl. X, 2 enlarged)

Our knowledge of this type of coins is limited ; still less do we know of their provenance. Allan, who enlists in his *Catalogue* twenty-two coins of this type under Class 3, vaguely calls them as coming from Northern or rather N. W. India[2], though a solitary piece, No. 19, is definitely known to have been picked up at Mathura. Nor has the obverse design been satisfactorily identified. Thus the four coins published by me here, along with the other three described above in a preceding number, are hoped to advance our knowledge, in whatever state of preservation they are. They bear some symbols on the reverse also, unlike those enlisted by Allan in his *Catalogue* which show a plain reverse. It may also be remarked here that their find-spot is not very far from Mathura, where coin No. 2 of Allan's *Catalogue* was obtained.

A CAST COIN

Æ. roughly circular, diameter .5″ to .55 ; weight 34.84 grains.

Obverse—Elephant with rider, walking to l.

Reverse—*Chaitya* of three arches, with a crescent on each of its arches.

(Pl. IX, 5)

A large number of coins of this type are known, but not a single showing a crescent on each of the arches of the *Chaitya* has come to light.

SYMBOLIC TYPES OF COINS

All the coins published below are die-struck and their metal is copper.

(1) Originally probably round but now broken on one side of the edge ; diameter as of the complete piece, *c.* ·55″ ; weight 21·5 grains.

Obverse—A new symbol appearing as a triangle with a pellet in it ; below, another new symbol as on

2. *B.M.C., A.I.*, p. xvii and pp. 4 ff.

sketch ; traces of some indistinct symbols and of legend around the edge.

Reverse—On l., a trident with the ends of its prongs turned below and with an axe attached to it on l. ; on r., a new symbol as on pl. ; traces of some other symbols. **(Pl. IX, 6)**
(also Pl. X. 3)

All these symbols are new, though the trident symbol of this type is found on the coins issued by Bhava and Bṛihaspati of the Nāga house of Padmāvatī.

(2) Roughly square, ·55″ ; weight 48 grains.

Obverse—A new symbol as on sketch ; on l., the rayed Sun (rubbed on the coin) traces of another symbol between the two. **(Pl. IX, 7)**
(also Pl. X. 4)

Reverse—Illegible.

(3) Roughly rectangular, ·4″ × ·45″ ; originally probably round ; weight 17·5 grains:

Obverse—A monkey (or squirrel ?) to r., with tail curled up, on a twig. **(Pl. IX, 8)**
(also Pl. X. 5)

Reverse—Indistinct ; probable traces of Ujjain symbol and of some other symbols.

(4-5) Round, diameter ·4″ ; weight 19·5 and 21·5 grains respectively.

Obverse—*Nāga-mudrā* symbol, formed by a straight line with a curve on either of its sides, placed on a horizontal line.

Reverse—Faint traces of a tree and some other symbol. **(Pl. IX, 9-10)**
(also Pl. X. 6,7)

Coin No. 4 is worn and hence the photograph is not so clear as of No. 5. It also shows traces of some indistinct symbol on the left on its obverse, whereas No. 5 preserves two orbs of an Ujjain symbol below the horizontal line, probably representing the curls (?).

Two coins from the place and belonging to this type have been published by me above ;[3] but they are both rectangular, whereas the present specimens are circular.

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3. See *J.N.S.I.*, XVII, p. 40, Nos. 27-8 & Pl.

(6) Circular, diameter ·4″; weight 23·5 grains.

Obverse—Tree on a *Chaitya* of three arches, on a platform; a *Svastika* on either side; below, Ujjain symbol partly preserved.

Reverse—The *Nāga*-symbol on a platform; below, two orbs of the Ujjain symbol, joint to each other without the rod.

(Pl. IX, 11)
(also Pl. X. 8)

On this coin the Nāga-symbol is different in form, as can be noted on the Plate. While sorting the collection, I came across three more coins of the type; their diameter and weight are as noted below :—

No.	diameter in inches	wt. in grains	
7	·45 to ·5	16·54	(Pl. IX, 12)
8	·3	21·6	
9	·3	20·2	

The reverse of coin No. 7, which is illustrated here, shows an additional taurine symbol, partly cut, at VII, and its obverse bears the same symbol complete. It is comparatively thinner, and thus greater in diameter, though less in weight.

(10) Roundish, diameter max. 5″, min. ·4″; weight 17·5 grains.

Obverse—Tree in railing in the centre; a taurine-symbol on left below; an indistinct symbol on r.

(Pl. IX, 13)

Reverse—Ujjain symbol, faint and obliterated, visible only on the coin.

A coin of the same type was published by me earlier in this *Journal* (XVII, p. 40, No. 29); its obverse bears a *Svastika* on left, whereas we have a taurine-symbol in its place, all else being the same.

(11) Round, diameter max. ·45″, min. ·4″; slightly broken at edge; weight 27·5 grains.

Obverse—A trident, with traces of some other symbols at the edge.

Reverse—Two parallel lines horizontally arranged, in a circle of pellets.

(Pl. IX, 14)

(12-3) Thin as paper; rectangular, ·45″ and ·4″ × ·35″ respectively; weight 5·23 and 5·09 grains respectively.

Obverse—*Chaitya* of six arches, partly visible, as the coins are partly broken.

Reverse—Tree in railing. No. 12 illustrated.

(Pl. IX, 15)

(14) Round, diameter. 4″ ; weight 25·7 grains.

Obverse : Lion, standing to r., before a tree in railing.

Reverse : Tree in railing.

(Pl. IX, 16)

(15) Rectangular, .4″ ; weight 21 grains.

Obverse : In an incuse, elephant walking to r.

(Pl. IX, 17)

Reverse : Some indistinct traces of a symbol now obliterated.

A coin of this type has been published by me in this *Journal*, XVIII, p. 69, No. 10 ; but on the present coin the elephant is much better engraved and the incuse is deeper. Besides, the obverse shows no additional symbol above the elephant and the reverse has some obliterated symbol, unlike that of the preceding coin, showing its reverse altogether blank.

(16-18) Round, with slightly varying diameter and weight, as noted below :

No.	Diameter	Weight in grains
16	·35″	23·5
	·3″	17·54
	·3″	15·08

Obverse : Bull walking l. ; Ujjain symbol above.

Reverse : Tree in railing ; on l. , *Svastika* symbol. No. 16 is illustrated.

(Pl. IX, 18)
(also Pl. X. 9)

(19) Round, diameter ·3″ ; weight 18·54 grains.

Obv. & Rev. : The same as above, but with bull walking (Not illustrated).

There is still another coin of this type ; it is broken but appears to be originally rectangular. It shows a letter like *sa* on the top of the right edge, and the reverse is blank·

(Pl. IX, 19

(20) Round, diameter ·45 ; weight 22·6 grains.

Obverse : Bull walking to r. ; above, four letters in Brāhmī, to be tentatively read as *-vi* (?) *hasa*.

Reverse : Tree in railing on r. and *Nāga*-symbol on l.

(Pl. IX, 20)
(also Pi, X. 10)

The first of the letters is corroded and the third and the fourth, which are half cut, appear to be *ha* and *sa*. It is hoped that a better preserved coin will make the reading definite and thereby the attribution of the coin certain.

(21-22) Triangular; each side measuring *c.* ·4″ ; weight 24·5 grains.

Obverse : Bull walking to r. ; above, Ujjain symbol.

Reverse : Some symbols now lost ; only traces are visible.

(Pl. IX, 21-2)

Coins which are originally triangular are little known and hence I publish these coins of a definite provenance. On comparison with some more coins of the type, I am definite that this type was struck on triangular pieces. For some coins of this shape, attention is invited to *J.N.S.I.*, XIII, Pl. II. Nos. VII-VIII.

SOME NEW WESTERN KSHATRAPA COINS

By Dr. H.V. Trivedi, Gwalior

We have a fairly large series of the silver coinage of the Western Kshatrapa rulers, but their coins in base metals are remarkably less known. The latter also disclose some new types and varieties. Some of these coins published by me in this *Journal*[1] tend to show that much still remains to be done in connection with the latter types of coins. In this note I publish some more copper coins of the house, all new and belonging to Shri Shantilal Pardeshi of Indore, who tells me that he obtained them in Gujarat. In the end of this note I also publish a unique silver coin from his collection and procured along with them.

A COPPER COIN OF CHASHṬANA

Æ. Roughly round, diameter *c.* 65″. Wt. 54.5 grains.

Obverse—Three-arched Chaitya surmounted by a crescent. The arch at the top has a pellet in it whereas those below show an oblique line drawn from the base on the left to the line on the right. Kh. legend around the edge, XII, ***Chhatrapasa Ghsamodika......***

Reverse—Rayed Sun on r. and crescent on l. Br. legend, XII, *Rā[j]ño...moṭa(ti)kaputrasa Chashṭanasa.*

Pl. X, 11

Both the legends are fragmentary, but they go to show that the specimen was struck by Chashṭana, son of Ghsamotika. In the Kharoshthī legend the *ghsa* has partly come out and the portion *putrasa Chashṭanasa* is only in the form of traces; whereas in the Brāhmī legend, after *Rā[j]ño,* which is fairly clear at XII-I, a portion is lost till we find the lower parts of the letters *sama,* which is follwed by the names of the father and the son. Of the letters *Chashṭanasa,* the first is preserved only in its loop and the last is out of the flan. The portion which is clipped is just sufficient to contain four letters between *Rano* and *Ghsamotika,* and thus the coin may be taken as issued by Chashṭana as a Kshatrapa, it could have hardly contained the additional letters *maha* before the title.

Coins issued by Chashṭana are generally known to contain the Greek legend on the obverse and the Brāhmī and the Kharoshṭhī legends on the reverse.[2] Our coin, on which the Kharoshṭhī takes place of the Greek characters on the obverse, is therefore a

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1. XVII, p.
2. See *B.M C. AWK.* Pl. X, Nos. EI ff.

unique specimen published here for the first time. It is also noteworthy that both the legends on it also contain the patronymic.

A new feature of the coin is that the whole of its reverse type is formed by the Sun and the crescent, and the *Chaitya*, to which they later on appear as mere adjuncts, is not carved on it. The same reverse type was noticed on a solitary silver specimen issued by Chashṭana himself ; but it is now no longer traceable and is represented only by a *cliche* in lead, preserved in the British Museum.[3] Its obverse type, however, varies in showing the bust of the ruler and the circulatory Greek legend, whereas the present piece contains the figure of a *Chaitya* with the Kh. legend on this side. Both these coins differ in metal too, though both of them are circular and almost of the same diameter.

Since the *Chaitya* device appears to be later on added to the Sun and the crescent on the reverse of this type, the present coin may be taken as struck by Chashṭana in his earlier days when he was a Kshatrapa.

TWO COINS RE-STRUCK BY CHASṬANA (?)

Both these coins are very much worn and it is difficult to satisfactorily make out the symbols on them which are preserved only in parts. Their definite attribution, therefore, remains uncertain, though they appear to be re-struck by Chashṭana. Their description is as follows :—

Æ. Roughly round, slightly oval ; diameter of No. 1 is between .5″ and .55″ ; and of No. 2, .45″ Weight 31.5 and 29.5 grains respectively.

Obverse—Three-arched *Chaitya*, which is faint on No. 1 but clear on No. 2, struck over some object, completely mutilated and therefore only to be recognised from traces left. It appears to have been a tree, two of the leaves on the right being faintly visible just below the lower tier of the *Chaitya* on coin No. 3. Indistinct traces of legend around.

Rev.—Rayed Sun on r. and crescent on 1. On No. 1 the Sun symbol is blurred and on No. 2 the crescent is too faint to come out on the photograph. Some indistinct traces also.

Pl. X, 12-3 respectively. Of No 2, only obverse is illustrated. Also see the Line-drawings. Pl. X, 16-17

Both these coins appear to be re-struck, but the original devices on them are wholly damaged in the process of re-strick-

3. *Ibid.*, p. cxiii.

ing. They can, however, be made out in parts. On illustration No. 2 faint traces of two leaves and the trunk of the tree can be noticed around the upper parts of the *Chaitya* and the obverse of illustration No. 3 shows parts of the original tree. These symbols are too faint to come out on the photographs ; but from them it may tentatively be suggested that the coins were originally issued by Nahapāna whose solitary copper coin is known to bear a tree on its reverse.[4] They were re-struck by Chashṭana, with his devices of a *Chaitya* on the reverse. This hypothesis, however, needs some confirmatory evidence for verification.

Chashṭana is regarded as a subordinate of Gautamīputra, who appointed him to rule over such provinces as were seized from the rival Kshaharāta power after the defeat of Nahapāna ;[5] and it is no wonder if, like his suzerain, he too may have re-struck some of the coins of Nahapāna. But this view can be finalised only when some better preserved specimens of the type are available.

AN ANONIMOUS COPPER COIN

Æ. Rectangular, ·45″ × ·55″. Wt. 41·8 grains.

Obv.—In a square of dots, humped bull, facing.

Rev.—In a square border of dots three-arched *Chaitya* on a platform, surmounted by a crescent ; rayed Sun on l. and crescent on r. ; river below.

Pl. X, 14

This specimen is of the same type as of *B. M. C. A. W. K.*, Pl. XII, Nos. 326-7 and the one published by me in this *Journal*.[6] But it has an interesting variation in showing the position of the Sun and the crescent reversed, as on all the known specimens these symbols occur respectively on the r. and the l.

Rapson was not definite about the provenance of the two coins recorded by him ; and while publishing the third specimen of this type, I have shown that this type was current in Malwa. The present coin, which is from Gujarat, goes to show that the type was current in that region also.

ANOTHER COIN OF THE SAME TYPE

AR. Circular, diameter ·4″. Wt. 22·3 grains.

Obv.—In a circle of dots, bull as on No. 4.

Rev.—The same as on No. 4, but the symbols are worn and cannot come out on the photograph.

Pl. X, 15 (Obv. only).

The coin is unique as this type is known hitherto only in copper of rectangular size.

4. *Ibid* , Pl. IX, No. 252.
5. *Ibid.*, p. cxii.
6. XIII, p. 213, No. 18.

COINS FROM NERLE

By S. B. Deo

The coins discussed in this article come from Nerle, a small town in the District of Satara. It lies on the Poona-Kolhapur road and is some 18 miles south of Karad in the State of Bombay.

The discovery of these coins along with remains of old structures and 'distinct' potsherds was reported in the issue of the Marathi daily 'Sakal' and hence Shri M. S. Mate, Research Scholar in the Deccan College, Poona, visited the site to verify and futher explore the archaeological potentialities of the site. He was given all help in this matter by Shri Kumbhojkar, Shri Phadtare and Shri Mulla, teachers in the High School at Nerle. Shri Mate recovered 21 coins, several sherds of the Red Polished and the Red-and-Black pottery and bangle pieces. On the basis of these it could be said that the site was inhabited from Early Historic times to about the end of the Muslim-Maratha period.

Of the twenty-one coins, two belong to the Sātavāhanas proper, seventeen to the Viḷivāyakuras, one to Shivājī and one to the last Sultan of the Bāhamanis.

COINS OF VIḶIVĀYAKURA

The coins of the Viḷivāyakuras have been so far found in the South Deccan, chiefly at Kolhapur[1] and Karad. From these, three of their princes—Vāśiṣṭhiputra Viḷivāyakura, Māḍhariputra Sivalakura and Gautamiputra Viḷivāyakura have come to light. Their order of succession is also supposed to be as enumerated. Not only that, but Pandit Bhagavanlal Indraji[2] had long ago published some coins which show that the second restruck the coins of the first, while the third that of the second. The coins from Nerle, however, are solely of Gautamiputra Viḷivāyakura, and there are no indications of any coin being re-stamped

Much has been written about the Viḷivāyakuras and their 'kura' suffixes. Rapson[3] tried to identify Gautamiputra Viḷivāyakura with Gautamiputra Sātakarni, while Gopalachari[4] on the

1. Pandit Bhagavanlal Indraji, '*Coins of Andhrabhritya kings of Southern India*', *JBBRAS*, Vol. XIII, (1877), pp. 303 ff ; Bhandarkar, R. G., *Collected Works*, Vol. III, p. 411 ff ; Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, London, (1891), p. 109 and pl. XII ; Kundangar, K. G., *Numismatic Supplement*, No. XLII, Article 285 ; Rapson, *CIC*, pls. I to IV ; Altekar, A. S. in *Numismatic Supplement*, No. XLVI, Article 330.
2. *Loc. cit.*, also, Kundangar, *op. cit.*, pl. 4.
3. *CIC.*, p. LXXXVIII.
4. *EHAC*, (Madras, 1941), p. 60.

other hand refutes this identification. Regarding the suffix kura', Rapson[5] holds the view that it may be equivalent to Sanskrit 'kula'. Gopalachari[6], on the other hand, explains '*viḷivāya*' as "a wielder of a bow—*Villa* or *Villiva* meaning a bow in Tamil". Some scholars trace Dravidian affinities in these.

Amidst this uncertainty about the meaning of the term 'Viḷivāyakura' one thing should be noted. The names of the rulers of the Mahārathis also have the suffix 'kura' to their names. The excavations at Kolhapur have yielded stratigraphic evidence to show that the Mahārathis and the Viḷivāyakuras were probably contemporaries. This contemporaneity and the common suffix may further indicate that these two houses were probably related to each other.[7] Besides this, the symbols on the coins of the Mahārathis were also identical, e.g., Bow and arrow, marginal legend, chaitya and tree.

Whatever the other things, the Viḷivāyakuras and the Mahārathis do not seem to belong to the direct royal line of the Sātavāhanas. The coins of the latter have so far not been found to bear the Bow and the arrow, while the Viḷivāyakura coins lack the typical symbols of the Sātavāhanas e.g., elephant, bull, lion, Ujjain symbol, etc. This may indicate that the 'Kuras' belonged to the Southern branch.

In the light of the above factors it is likely that the Viḷivāyakuras were petty governors[8] even though they bore the proud title of 'rājan'. They might have been connected with the royal Sātavāhanas, but themselves belonged to the 'kura' or 'aṅkura' dynasty as some scholars advocate.[9]

In spite of the fact that the coins under study are not entirely new from the published material, a detailed study of these reveals certain observations, which are worth noting down. The adjoining chart brings out certain important factors which may be summarised below.

(i) In all the seventeen coins, the obverse bears the bow and arrow, with the string of the bow downwards and the arrow

5. *op. cit.*, p. LXXXVII.

6. 'Legacy of the Satavahana Rule', *Proc. of the Ind. Hist.* Cong. 10th Session, Bombay, 1947, p. 110. The same author in *EHAC* (p. 60) says that 'Vilavaṇaka' is the name of a village also.

7. Sankalia and Dikshit, *Excavations at Kolhapur*, (Poona, 1952), p. 47.

8. Gopalachari, K., *op. cit.*, p 61 : "The title '*rajan*' does not prevent them from having been feudatories, for Nahapāna, who was undoubtedly a feudatory, bears the title '*rajan*'; Kundangar, *op. cit.*, p. 36 ; Raychaudhury, *PHAI* (1950), p. 502 ; Altekar, *Numismatic Supplement* No. XLVI, p. 18.

9. *The Age of Imperial Unity* (Bombay, 1951), p. 211 ; Also M. Rama Rao, "Coins of 'Kura' kings from Brahmapuri, *Annual Rep. of Secretariat Record Office* (Bombay), 1953-54, p. 38.

pointing upwards. In all the cases the legend runs around the bow and arrow, marginally : *rāño gotamiputasa viḷivāyakurasa.*

(ii) In most of the coins, the edges of the obverse side are bevelled out indicating possibly that these were cut slantly out of a two-millimeter thick lead plate.

(iii) Fifteen coins show that the letters *raño* start clockwise slightly at left hand top above the left edge of the bow, while in the case of coin Nos. 4 and 14, these letters start to the right of the point of the arrow. This shows that different stamps were used.

(iv) On the reverse side, the usual symbols are a chaitya generally of ten arches arranged in four tiers on a rectangular railing with a wavy line with or without dots. It is to be noted that only those coins (Nos. 4 and 14) which have the tree on the right hand corner of the railing have such dots on either side of the serpentine line. Besides the railing, the chaitya hill and the tree, the nandipada, the group of four dots (No. 1) and the symbol ± also occur.[10] It is remarkable that the *nandipada* and the horizontal linear symbol with a vertical rod are never both together on the side of the chaitya.

(v) As all these coins have clearly stamped surfaces, and as there are no traces of the legend or symbols of previous kings, it will not be wrong to suppose that these coins were issued anew by Gautamiputra Viḷivāyakura, unlike the ones which show that Gautamiputra had restamped those of Māḍhariputa.

(vi) The thickness of all the coins is uniform.

(vii) The weight varies between 107 grains and 166 grains. Coins No. 4 and 14 bearing the tree at the right hand corner of the railing instead of on top of the Chaitya as in the rest of the coins, have the maximum weight. It is to be noted that the diameter of the stamp with which these coins were impressed is also the maximum of the lot. Regarding the position of the legend in relation to the bow and arrow, it is to be noted that, the legend starts to the right of the tip of arrow, while in others it is not so.[11] As most of the coins are free from encrustation and are in an excellent state of preservation, one cannot say that the weights vary due to the amount of

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10. This symbol also occurs on the coin of king Sātavāhana, the founder of the dynasty (last quarter of 3rd cent. B. C.) according to Mirashi, *JNSI*, Vol. VII, pt. I, pl. II, No. 1, and p. 3.

11. "The point of the arrow is directed exactly to the space between the beginning and end of the inscription and this probably was so arranged with a view of not showing any disrespect for the king, as might be supposed if the arrow were represented as pointing at the name or title......" Pt. Bhagavanlal Indraji, *op. cit.*, p. 304.

encrustation. Possibly the coins were never in circulation or they were buried or stored soon after minting.

(viii) The stamps used in impressing the legend, etc., do not seem to have been uniform. The diameter of the circular stamps varied between 19 mm. and 23 mm. In the case of coins 6 and 14, the stamps seem to have been oblong which is quite peculiar.

The stamps were not uniformly pressed, while some were so pressed that some part of the legend falls out of the flan of the coin. Due to the former factor, the legend on that area of the coin which was pressed more, is very clear while on the rest of the coin it is blurred.

Some stamps were used till they were worn out as is indicated by the abnormally blurred and thick impressions of the legend.

(ix) Palaeographically, the coins are late as compared to the early Sātavāhana coins. The perfect angularity of '*ma*', the tapering thickness of '*ra*', the angularity of '*va*', the closeness of the loop of '*sa*', the semicircular '*ga*' the round-bottomed '*ya*', the top loop of '*mi*' tally well with the southern Brahmi of 2nd-3rd century A. D.[12]

(x) All these coins are of lead.

(ix) The find of the coins of the Viḷivāyakuras at Kolhapur, Karad and now at Nerle show that their circulation was restricted only to the southern Deccan.

COINS OF THE SĀTAVĀHANAS

Besides the coins of Gautamiputra Viḷivāyakura, two other coins were found.

No. 18

Metal—Lead ; Shape—Round (Diameter ; 25 mm.)

Weight--142 grains ; Thickness—2 mm.

Obverse : Humped bull facing left, overhead marginal legend : *sa*............*rapuḷu*...(blurred).

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with a pellet in the centre of each orb.

Coins bearing the impression of a humped bull facing right have been found in the excavations at Nevasa. They belong to

12. Shivaramamurty puts Gautamiputra Vilivāyakura in 2nd cent. A. D., *MASI*, No. 73 (1955) pl. XXIV, No 87. See, Sircar, D. C. *Select Inscriptions*, (Calcutta, 1942) Vol. I, Nagarjunikonda Inscriptions of Vira-purushadatta, pl. XL ; also Bühler's Chart No. II.

a king Sātavāhaṇa and Siri Sātakaṇi. In this coin, however, the bull faces left and the legend is not completely legible. It may, however, be *Puḷumāvisa.* The bull type coins of the Sātavahanas are rare[13]. Those published so far bear the impression of the bull generally facing right. The palaeography shows that the letters are thick, short and angular. The palaeography resembles Brāhmī characters of the third century of the Christian era.

No. 19.

Metal—Lead ; Shape : Round (Diameter : 19 mm.)

Weight—72 grains ; Thickness—1.5 mm.

Obverse : Elephant standing facing right with trunk raised up, legend overhead effaced.

Reverse : Ujjain symbol with a dot in each of the four orbs.

The "Elephant" mark has been the pet symbol used on their coins by several of the Sātavāhana rulers. The elephant on this coin is standing unlike in other coins where the elephant is shown walking forcefully to right with trunk upraised. In the absence of any clarity of the legend, it is not possible to ascertain the date or the name of the ruler to which the coin belonged.

COIN OF SHIVĀJĪ

This is a roughly circular piece of copper, 130 grains in weight, 17 mm. in diameter and 5 mm. in thickness.

On the obverse is '*Si*' in well-developed Nāgari characters while on the reverse are the letters '*tra*' or '*pa*' in top row and '*ti*' in lower row.

There is nothing distinctive about the coin as these have been found in abundant quantity in the Deccan. These are called 'Sivarāī' from Shivaji (1630-80 A. D.) who is supposed to have started minting these. These were current for a long time after him.

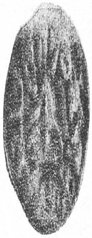
BAHAMANI COIN

A coin belonging to Kalimullah Sultan (bin) Mahmud, the last of the Sultans of the Bahamanis[14] was also found at Nerle.

13. 'Sātavāhana, the founder of the dynasty, introduced the elephant type in his dominion, but his descendant Sātakarṇi seems to have reverted to the bull-type which, being of long standing, was perhaps more popular. Bull-type coins of the Sātavāhanas are, however, rather rare". Mirashi, *JNSI*, Vol VIII, pt. I, p. 19.

14. See Speight, B. E., *Islamic Culture*, (1935). I am thankful to Shri G. H. Khare for help in this matter. Shri Z. D. Ansari also was helpful in reading the coin.

1



14

COIN Nos. →	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
OBVERSE		as in 1	as in 1	as in 14	as in 1	as in 1	as in 1	as in 1	as in 1	as in 1	as in 1	as in 1	as in 1		as in 1	as in 1	as in 1
REVERSE																	
THICKNESS	2 mms.	2	2	2	2.5	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
WEIGHT	136 grains	116	126	166	137	128	136	132	150	142	130	140	136	156	127	107	127
DIAMETER	26 mm.	24	26	29	28	26	26	26	26	24	26	26	26	28 and 30	26	22	23
DIAMETER OF STAMP	22 mm.	21	21	....	21	19 and 21	20	22	21	22	21	21	21	23	....	19	....
BOW Length	11 mm.	10	9	11	10	10	11	12	10	11	10	10	9	12	10	9	11
BOW Convexity	3 mm.	3.5	3	6	3	3	4	3	3	4	3	3	3	5	3	3	3
LENGTH OF ARROW	7 mm.	6	6	9	7	6	7	7	7	6	7	6	7	8	6	4	7

Coins fro Nerle

This ruler is supposed to have ruled between 1525-27 A. D. His coins also have been publised elsewhere. The present specimen is of copper, round in shape, 240 grains in weight, 22 mm. in diameter and 5 mm. in thickness.

The study of the coins shows, therefore, that the present Satara District including Nerle was either directly under or had felt the influence of the Sātavāhanas, the feudatories of the Sāta-vāhanas, the Bahamanis and the Marāthās.

"KHAḌGA-TRĀTĀ" COINS OF KUMĀRAGUPTA I

By S. V. Sohoni

The Bayāna hoard contained[1] four coins of what has been called, "the rhinoceros slayer type". A fifth piece has recently been described[2]. One may hope that more would be found.

All these five coins are of Kumāragupta I. This type holds a unique picture on either side; of a king on horseback hunting a rhinoceros (on obverse); and of a river goddess (viz. the Gangā) with her right hand pointing upwards, standing on a crocodile having a long snout and with a female attendant holding a royal umbrella.

There are three main suggestions in this analysis—

(a) that the rhinoceros was not intended to be killed and was hunted for its horn;

(b) that natural history and popular[3] lore about the rhinoceros must be taken into account correctly to appreciate the mint master's intention;

(c) that the Gangā was depicted as a pathway leading to heaven; and that most probably, the occasion was a श्राद्ध at Prayāga.

Several details are worth noticing about this rhinoceros hunt. It is apparent that Kumāragupta I's mint office paid close attention to natural history.

There are three known varieties among rhinoceroses—

(1) The big one-horned rhinoceros, on whose flanks the fold behind the shoulders stops short of the top ridge of the back.

(2) The small one-horned rhinoceros, on whose back the fold behind the shoulders runs right over the top ridge.

(3) The two-horned rhinoceros.

As regards accessibility, the big one-horned rhinoceros is more conveniently hunted. The other two varieties are not found in this country or near its frontiers. The small one-horned rhinoceros is seen in Burmese jungles; and the two-horned species is now confined to the Malay peninsula and Java and

(1) A. S. Altekar: *Catalogue of the Gupta Gold Coin in the Bayāna Hoard, 1954.*

(2) *J.N.S.I.* Vol. XVII pt. II pp. 104-106.

(3) S.H. Prater: *The Book of Indian Animals*, pp. 191-194.

is rare elsewhere, it being even doubtful whether it at all survives in Burma and Assam.

It is the big one-horned rhinoceros which is shown on Kumāragupta I's coin. Its size can be inferred on a comparison with that of the royal mount. Its distinctive characteristic is also clearly seen ; there is no fold carried over the back behind its shoulders.

It is not necessary to hold that Kumāragupta I had to go to Kāmarupa to hunt a big one-horned rhinoceros. Essentially an inhabitant of forested banks of rivers, this variety is found in Nepal and partly in northern fringes of Tirhut jungles ; and in isolated areas in Kāmarupa. Prater has observed, "Formerly extensively distributed in the Indian Peninsula. Today it is restricted to parts of Nepal and Assam. In Nepal, it is found only in the country to the east of the Gandak River known as Chaitwan, in Assam in isolated areas of the plains."

The rhinoceros of this variety is found even now straying into Champaran jungles in North Bihar, particularly in the forests on the Gandak left bank where that river debouches into the plains.

It is more probable that Kumāragupta I's hunt of rhinoceros took place in North Bihar jungles adjoining the Chaitwan region in Nepal, not far away from Vaiśāli, than in distant Assam. A ruler of Pāṭaliputra would have found this more convenient. Sailing from Pāṭaliputra, he could have gone upstream the Nārāyani (also called the Gandak or the rhinoceros river) up to Govindganj ; and then to Triveni by the ancient route on which Asoka has left his pillars. Tīrabhukti-*vishaya* was almost a home province of early Gupta rulers. Its headquarters at Vaiśāli was only 27 miles from Pāṭaliputra. A seal of Kumāragupta I's mother Dhruvasvāmini was found at Vaisāli. It is not unlikely that Dhruvasvāmini's children were very familiar with Tirabhukti-*vishaya* with all its attractions viz. places sanctified by association with Rāma and Sītā in Mithilā and its famous jungles.

It could be safely assumed on account of this variety's extensive distribution in North India centuries ago, that Kumāragupta I could have hunted a big one-horned rhinoceros, much nearer home than in Assam. In a list given by Bāṇa[1] of presents sent from Kāmarūpa for Harṣavardhana, no rhinoceros was specifically mentioned, probably, on account of its not being regarded as a rare animal. Secondly, as would presently appear, this factor of distance was a material consideration.

(1) Bāna's *Harsha-charitra.* pp. 217-218.

A mint master has to think of several aspects before a coin type is decided upon. The space available for showing any drawing on a coin is very small. Having received an imperial order that a rhinoceros should be depicted, care had to be taken to distinguish it from say, a wild boar. This was done by emphasising a very characteristic feature which has been described by Prater in these terms: "on the flanks, shoulders and hind quarters, the skin is studded with masses of rounded tubercles." Our Catalogue refers to these rounded tubercles as "black spots".

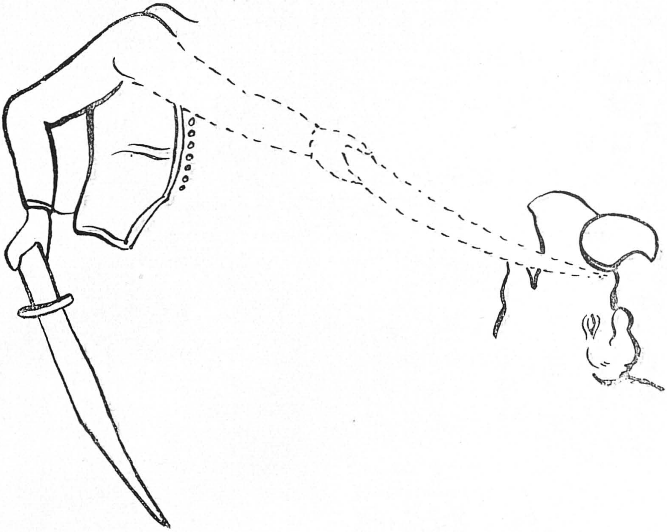
On the coin, the horseman is shown having taken the safest position while dealing with his rhinoceros. There is ample indication that the rhinoceros had been stalked i.e. followed from behind and taken by surprise. This was not done without good reason. A parallel position would ensure safety, since with its grotesque and heavy build a rhinoceros cannot change its course easily. Further, Prater has noted that this animal is solitary as a rule and has referred to one of its strange habits which helps its enemies: "Along the numerous rivers which flow through the jungles of the Nepal Terai the rhino has particular places for dropping its excreta. Mounds so accumulate in places. In approaching these spots, a rhinoceros walks backwards and so falls an easy victim to poachers."

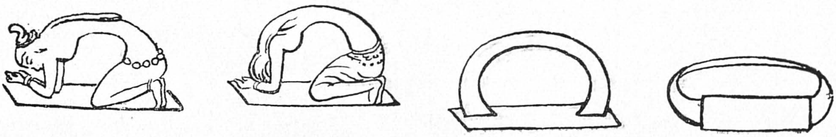
Therefore, the rider came to a sudden halt, moving behind the animal. The horse is shown as prancing on its hind legs—firstly, because this is what it does in such circumstances; and secondly, because it was necessary to show its neck away from that of the rhinoceros, to avoid confusion of detail.

On the coin, the rhinoceros is shown with its head and its horn raised to their highest point. This was not without a very fundamental reason.

If one were to calculate, using details of this coin, drawing, the sweep of the weapon held by the horseman, it is clear that the tip of the weapon would have hit the horn of the rhinoceros with maximum effect. The horseman's right foot is on the rhinoceros' back. This position helps the delivery of the blow. It is clear from all five available coins that the horseman is shown watching the head of the animal—and most probably its horn. (*cf.* top and middle figures on p. 181).

Whatever that weapon might be, the sharpest edge would have made no difference to the back of the rhinoceros. Judging from the way the weapon is shown as being held by the horseman, it is either resting or is just being moved for making the maximum swing for striking against some object. It is clear that the rhinoceros cannot be killed or even severely





Top : See page 180.
Middle : See pages 180 & 183.
Bottom : See page 198.

injured with a sword—blow on its flank, shoulders and hind quarters, in contrast with any other animal similarly struck.

Only the horn was liable to be dismembered. Prater has observed, "The horn is formed of a closely matted mass of horny fibre, issuing from the skin. It has no connection with the skull, although a supporting boss of bone in the skull may serve as its foundation". It grows throughout life and if lost is reproduced. It is prized for its supposed medicinal properties also. Average length is 15 to 16 inches. A male has shorter and thicker horn (as on the coin), blunted in combat.

This much is inferred from details known about distribution, physical characteristics and habits of this animal.

In minting this curious coin type, what was intended to be impressed on Kumāragupta I's subjects ? "Commemoration" of a successful hunt in Kāmarupa does not seem to be a satisfactory motive. This animal was not a monopoly of that region. Further, a rhinoceros is far less destructive than a wild elephant ; and very much more innocent than a yellow cat like a tiger or lion. It feeds on grass ; and only during rains it might damage cultivation. It is not a menace to human life.

Perhaps an explanation lies in terms of a religious belief associated with this animal. Its flesh and blood were considered highly valuable for use during a *śrāddha*. Prater remarked, "On ordinary *śrāddha* days the libation of water and milk is poured from a cup carved from its horn."

This aspect deserves examination. In his *Smṛiti,* Manu laid down that flesh of a rhinoceros should be regarded as being fit for a *muni* (Chapter III, 27 2)[1]. Later, he has counted rhinoceros among animals eligible for human consumption (Chapter V. 18)[2] ; and an animal killed for conducting religious rituals attained salvation for itself and the performer (Chapter V. 42).[3]

These notions hold good in Nepal even to-day-with specific reference to performance of *śrāddha*. This is also not without other authority. Thus, in *Pāraskara Grihya Sūtra* it was enjoined that rhinoceros flesh should be used (vide *Śrāddha*

(1) कालशाकं महाशल्काः खड्गलोहामिषं मधुः ।
आनन्त्यायैव कल्पन्ते मुन्यन्नानि च सर्वशः ॥

(2) श्वाविधशल्यकं गोधां खड्गकर्म शशांस्तथाः ।
भक्ष्यान्यञ्च नखेष्वाहुरनष्ट्रांश्चैकतोदतः ॥

(3) एष्वर्थेषु पशुन्हिंसन्वेदतत्त्वार्थविद्द्विजः ।
आत्मानं च पशुंचैव गमयत्युत्तमां गतिम् ॥

Sūtra Kandikā. VIII).[1] In the *Śrāddha Kalpa* section of *Gobhila Grihya Sūtra*, the rhinoceros has been mentioned as first essential requisite of *Akshayyatripti* (vide *Saptamī Khandikā* 2.)[2] In the *Yājnavalkya Smriti* also flesh of a rhinoceros has been referred to as a desirable material for performing a *Śrāddha.*[3] *Yājnavalkya* proceeded to say that,

यद्ददाति गयास्थाश्च सर्वमानन्त्यमश्नुते ।
तथावर्षात्रयोदश्यां मघासु च विशेषतः ॥

By saying that 'गयास्थश्च' other places were also intended; and in the मिताक्षराव्याख्या on this stanza was observed,[4] that other places like *Gangādvāra* and *Prayāga* were also referred to.

This reference to performance of *Śrāddha* at *Gangādvāra* and *Prayāga* is important.

There is no doubt that the *Gangā* was shown on the reverse of this rhinoceros coin. Some clue to that goddess' gesture is furnished by these lines from Kalidāsa—

तीर्थतोयव्यतिकरभवे जन्हुकन्या सरय्वो-
र्देहत्यागादमरगणनालेख्यमासाद्य सद्यः

(*RV.* VIII (95)

(२) समुद्रपत्न्योर्जलसंनिपाते पूतात्मनामत्रकिलाभिषेकात् ।
तत्वावबोधेन विनापि भूयस्तनुत्यजां नास्ति शरीरबन्धः ॥

(*RV.* XIII. 58)

(३) जन्होः कन्या सगरतनय स्वर्ग सोपानपङ्क्तिम् ।

(*Meghadūtam* 54)

The river goddess is shown standing on an elephant-headed crocodile. (*cf.* middle figure on p. 181)

This was to identify the river as a *Samudrapatnī*, riding on a *mātanganakra.*

Kālidāsa has stated using that very phrase of तनुत्यजः

अकरोत्स तदौर्ध्वदैहिकं पितृभक्त्या पितृकार्यकल्पवित् ।
नहि तेन पथा तनुत्यजस्तनयावर्जित पिण्डकाङ्क्षिणः ॥

(RV VIII 26)

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(1) अथाज्ञय्यतृप्तीः । खड्गमांसम् ।

(2) अथाक्षय्य तृप्तीः । (१) । खड्गः ।

(3) खड्गामिषं महाशल्कं मधुमुन्यन्नमेव च ।
लोहामिषं कहाशाकं मांसं वार्ध्रीणसस्यच ॥

(4) च शब्दात् गंगाद्वारादिषु च ।
गंगाद्वारे प्रयागेच नैमिषे पुष्करे अर्बुदे
संनिहत्यां गयायांच श्राद्धं अक्षैय्यतां व्रजेत् ॥

Performance of a *Śrāddha* was a duty which Kumāragupta I could not have avoided. Using materials taken from a rhinoceros, was expected during a *Śrāddha.* Kumāragupta I only took its horn.

I should add that in Nepal it is common practice that those who want to perform *Śrāddha* have themselves to hunt a rhinoceros.

But a coin must be read in terms of not only what it depicts but of what is specifically inscribed on it i. e. according to its legends.

Certain points stand out prominently.

There is no reference to either any valour being performed or any slaying being done, in sharp contrast with legends on coins showing a tiger or lion hunt. No *parākrama*[1] was claimed nor any description as a *Nihantā.*[2] No large title like *Mahārājādhirāja* or any poetic reference has been incorporated e.g. of Kumāragupta being a moon[3] on this world or of his[4] dynasty.

The obverse legend on this rhinoceros type coin has its initial word or phrase obscured. Only the last letter in that word or phrase is visible-and even our 5th coin does not clear this[5] detail. Dr. Altekar has suggested restoring this word as "भर्ता"[6]. I do not see how this restoration is at all possible. Firstly, this word is never used in any Gupta coin legend. Secondly, there seems to be more space left than would be occupied if only this word were to exist. Thirdly, if there were a word ending with त, it could have been अजितः also, as this word or its variant occurs so frequently on Kumāragupta's coins. But this is "tta" and not "ta" on one out of five coins ; and if it represents a word ending in Rtā it could be some other word e. g. *Hartā* or *Kartā* also.

An important part of this coin legend is '*Khadgatrātā*'. Dr. Altekar has suggested[7] that, "The unknown author of the metrical legend makes a pun on the word *Khaḍga* and describes the emperor as '*Bhartā Khadgatrātā Kumaragupta jayatyanisam* ; 'Ever victorious is the lord Kumāragupta, who is *khaḍgatrātā* protector by the sword (*khadgenatrātā*), as well as protector from rhinoceroses (*khadgebhyastrātā*)".

One may readily agree that there are occasionally puns in Gupta coin legend. A well known example is "क्षितिमवजित्य दिवं

(1) *Bayāna Catalogue*, p. 277.
(2) Ibid. p. 294.
(3) Ibid. p. 242.
(4) Ibid. p. 248.
(5) Ibid. p. 298.
(6) Ibid. p. CVII.
(7) Ibid.

जयति सुचरितैर्विक्रमादित्यः ।", which involves reference to the rising Sun as well as to a king whose power is responsible for increasing public welfare. But I submit that there are good reasons for holding that there was no pun on the word खड्ग.

Nor is there much help from a comparable legend on what has been termed "elephant rider type" coin, about which Dr. Altekar has remarked[1], "The obverse legend is most probably *Kshataripurājatrātā Kumāragupta jayati ripun*, 'Kumāragupta, whose enemies have been destroyed, and who protects feudatory kings, conquers the enemies.'

A metrical legend is more compact and would not commit a mistake of inconsistancy between enemies having been already destroyed and enemies remaining under conquest.

There a re, however, certain dependable parts of both obverse and reverse legends on this rhinoceros type coin which are definitely of value in making its appreciation. The reverse legend is *Śri Mahendra Khadgah*. Dr. Altekar has translated it as, "Rhinoceros (killed by) Mahendra." This conclusion, placed within brackets, is not tenable. It is inconsistent with a definite phrase put on the obverse viz. "*Khadgatrātā*". This phrase could certainly mean, "protecting a rhinoceros". Kumāragupta does not claim to be a *Khaḍga Nihantā* (as done for a lion on his lion hunt type coin.)

That this was proper interpretation, is conclusively proved by a remarkable stanza of Kālidāsa in Canto II of the *Raghuvanśam* devoted to a remarkable description of Daśaratha's hunting in his forests.

प्रायो विषाणपरिमोक्ष लघूत्तमाङ्गान्खड्गाँश्चकार नृपतिर्निशितै क्षुरप्रैः ।
शृङ्गं सदृप्तविनयाधिकृतः परेषामत्युच्छ्रितं न ममृषे ननु दीर्घमायुः ॥

(*RV*. XI. 62)

Kālidāsa would have it that Daśaratha did not kill rhinoceroses but only removed their horns as he merely wanted to put down those who raised their tops or heads too high due to pride.

Our coin is perfect numismatic parallel of this stanza. In fact, I would not be surprised (should a speculation be permitted), if hunting in all its variety of animal, described in this supremely beautiful Canto were found to have corresponding coin types besides those relating to rhinoceros, tiger and lion, so far discovered. Based on healthy contemporary outlook on advantages of hunting, this description has for its central principles, restraint and discrimination. Thus the deer and the peacock are not even touched. The yak loses only its tail;

(1) *Bayāna Catalogue*, p. CIX.

and the rhinoceros, only its horn. The wild buffalo is shot through the eye'as the pair of horns must be preserved. In tigers' mouths are lodged arrows as would make them into quivers ; and the lions[1] are killed as if to cancel the debts owed to the war elephants. The mint-master clearly paid his tribute to Kālidāsa.

Is it without significance that these three coin types of Kumāragupta I, खड्गत्राता type व्याघ्रबलपराक्रम type and सिंह निहन्ता-महेंद्रगज type should have been so clearly explained in four consecutive stanzas devoted to hunting these three kinds of animals in this superb Canto IX of Kālidāsa's *Raghuvanśam* ? A close relation between an extremely rare rhinoceros protection type coin and stanza No. 62 in that canto is not without some bearing on Kālidāsa's chronology.

Kalidasa has referred to "क्षुरप्र" as the weapon used to slice off the horns of rhinoceroses—and not खड्ग. I suggest that even on our coin there is a small curvature at the other extremity and that "खड्ग" has been used in the legend strictly to mean a rhinoceros.

If this analysis were broadly correct, it would mean that—

(1) Kumāragupta I is shown about to cut off the horn of a rhinoceros, but deliberately sparing that animal's life. He was a शृङ्गहर्ता as well as a खड्गत्राता.

(2) In accordance with a law of corresponding qualities e.g. strength of tiger or prowess of a lion being excelled by the king, as on the tiger or lion slayer coins, the wellknown belief about the rhinoceros possessing a very long life led to this coin's reverse legend of श्री महेंद्रखड्ग ; implying that Kumāragupta I had even a longer life. This claim probably turned true.

(3) This coin strikingly brought out that Kumāragupta I would permit nobody keeping his head high in front of him i.e. would sharply deal with every form of haughtiness.

(4) The rhinoceros horn was useful during a श्राद्ध to ancestors. The Gangā indicated a road to Heaven. The coin was minted in early part of Kumāragupta I's reign. His hair are fuller on head here than on other coins. His figure is also more youthful. Hence his rhinoceros protector type coin might have been struck soon after he succeeded his father. That animal had definite associations with performance of a श्राद्ध. This coin thus throws some light on Kumāragupta's succession.

(1) Prater has noted that the lion was once found over the whole of Northern and Central India as far south as the Narbada. Kumāragupta I need not have gone to Saurāshṭra to kill lions. Similarly tigers are also found outside Bengal.

This explains how a king of Ayodhya like Daśaratha could deal with a mixed assortment like lions, tigors, rhinoes and yaks.

THE GOLD CONTENT OF GUPTA COINS

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The gold content of Gupta coins has so far been investigated only by Cunningham (Table II.b) and Sinha (Table I. c.). In comparing their results we found some serious discrepancies. So we thought it advisable to study the gold content of the coins of the earlier Gupta Kings. In testing the coins we had the invaluable assistance of Mr. S. K. Guha, B. Sc., postgraduate research student, Birkbeck College, University of London, who weighed each coin both in air and water with great care. We have weighed almost all the gold coins of Chandragupta I and Samudragupta in the British Museum, with the exception of a few worn pieces; and for comparative study we have also weighed eight Archer-type coins of Candragupta II and nine Archer-type of his son and successor Kumāragupta I. Thus, a careful study of 77 coins of the early Gupta kings has fully convinced us that Cunningham's analysis is incorrect.

We have prepared an exhaustive table of early Gupta coins, and also of eleven coins of the late Kuṣāṇa king, Vāsudeva in order to understand the former properly. From the Table II.a we may draw some very intersting conclusions. Our analysis of Candragupta Kumāradevī coins in Table Ia agrees with Dr. Walker's report (Table I. b) on some of these coins, while on others the two analyses differ by only a few grains. These variations may be due to the fact that his assistant weighed the coins in water by means of a fine iron wire, which is not very flexible and suitable, instead of by fine cotton thread used by us at the time of taking the weights. So there is only a slight difference between the two sets of results obtained by Dr. Walker and ourselves. The air weights of the coins numbers 4 and 7 in the *B. M. C.* are not correct, for there is no loss of weight in water. In view of the discrepancy of weight in these two coins, we do not depend on the *B. M. C.* for air weight. It may thus be the fact that there is some discrepancy also in the *B. M. C.* in the case of the Candragupta Kumāradevī coins. In any case, either Cunningham's coins are entirely different from ours, or errors crept into his investigations. So we ignore his findings and concentrate our attention on our own analysis.

From the point of view of pure gold content we may group our coins in five categories :—

(I) Vāsudeva coins ... ... 118 grains

(II) The Chandragupta-Kumāradevī coins ... 109 grains

(III) The Archer, Tiger and Lyrist coins of Samudragupta ... ... 104-105 grans

(IV) The Standard, battle-axe, Kācha, and Aśvamedha coins of Samudragupta ... 98-99 grains

(V) The Archer coins of Kumāragupta ... 92 grains

It can be tentatively suggested that they were issued in the same order on the principle of Gresham's Law. This points to the fact that the "Chandragupta-Kumāradevī" coins, as Altekar has believed, were issued by Chandragupta I himself and not by Samudragupta. Moreover, the "Kācha" coins, if issued by Samudragupta at all, were issued, like his Aśvamedha coins, towards the end of his reign, when his power was at its highest. This made it less probable that they are his, for it is on the face of it unlikely that he would give up his throne-name and revert to a popular name when at the height of his power. It can thus be conjectured that the Kācha coins were not issued by Samudragupta, but by an usurper.

TABLE I (a)

Laboratory report on some of the Gupta gold coins from the British Museum, London as tested by Mr. S. K. Guha and the author.

Serial Number	Name of the King	Coin type	B. M. Catalogue Number	Specific gravity of the Coins :– (sp. gr. of pure gold = 19·32	Percentage of pure gold.
		(1)			
1	Samuddra-gupta	*Standard type*	1	16·7	86·5
2	,,	,,	2	18·5	95·7
3	,,	,,	3	17·2	89·0
4	,,	,,	4	15·7	81·2
5	,,	,,	5	15·6	81·0
6	,,	,,	6	15·6	81·0
7	,,	,,	7	16·0	83·0
8	,,	,,	8	15·3	79·5

S.N.	King	Type	B. M. Number	sp. gr.	percentage of pure gold
9	Samuddra-gupta	1 *Standard type*	9	16·4	85·0
10	,,	,,	10	15·4	80·0
11	,,	,,	11	14·9	77·2
12	,,	,,	12	16·6	86·0
13	,,	,,	13	16·0	83·0
14	,,	,,	14	15·0	77·7
15	,,	,,	15	15·5	80·5
16	,,	,,	16	17·4	91·1
17	,,	,,	17	15·8	82·0
18	,,	(2) *Archer type*	18	16·0	83·0
19	,,	,,	19	17·2	89·3
20	,,	,,	20	16.2	84·0
21	,,	,,	21	18·1	93·9
22	,,	,,	22	18·1	93·9
23	(Samudra-gupta) Chandra-gupta I	(3) *Chandragupta –Kumāra-gupta*	23	15·9	82·5
24	,,	,,	24	18·2	94·3
25	,,	,,	25	18·6	96·2
26	,,	,,	26	15·7	81·2
27	,,	,,	27	17·4	91·1

S. N.	King	Type	B. M. Number	sp. gr.	percentage of pure gold
		(3)			
28	(Samudra-gupta) Candra-gupta I	*Chandragupta –Kumāra gupta*	28	17·4	91·1
29	,,	,,	29	19·3	100·0
30	,,	,,	30	16·3	84·4
31	,,	,,	31	18.6	96·2
32	Bought from Messrs. Sprink 1919	,,	...	18·7	96·9
33	(Dr. W. Hoey's Collection)	,,	...	18·7	96·9
		(4)			
34	Samudra-gupta	*Battle-axe*	32	14·0	72·5
35	,,	,,	33	15·2	79·0
36	,,	,,	34	14·2	73·6
37	,,	,,	35	16·6	86·0
38	,,	,,	36	15·8	82·0
39	,,	,,	37	15·6	81·0
40	,,	,,	38	19·3	100·0
41	,,	,,	39	16·2	84·0
42	,,	,,	40	16·8	87·0
		(5)			
43	,,	*Kācha*	41	16·6	86·0
44	,,	,,	42	15·9	82·5
45	,,	,,	43	16·7	86·5

S. N.	King	Type	B. M. cat. No.	Sp. Gr.	percentage of pure gold
46	Samudra-gupta	(4) *Battle axe*	44	16·4	85·0
47	„	„	45	15·2	79·0
48	„	„	47	16·0	83·0
49	„	(6) *Tiger*	48	17·2	89·3
50	Samudra-gupta	7 Lyrist	50	16·5	85·4
50	„	„	51	17·7	91·7
51	„	„	52	17·0	88·2
52	„	„	53	17·0	88·2
53	„	„	54	18·0	93·2
54	„	„	55	15·3	79·5
55	„	8 Aśvamedha	56	16·4	85·0
56	„	„	57	15·7	81·2
57	„	„	58	16·4	85·0
58	„	•	59	16·0	84·0
59	„	„	60	16·1	83·1
60	,	„	62	15·1	78·1
61	Candra-gupta II	9 Archer (class I)	63	17·9	92·8
62	„	„	64	16·7	86·5
63	„	„	65	15·5	80·5

S. N.	King	Type	B. M. cat. No.	Sp. Gr.	percentage of pure gold
64	Chandra-gupta II	Archer (class I)	66	16·9	87·5
65	,,	,,	67	15·6	81·0
66	,,	,,	68	16·0	83·0
67	,,	,,	69	15·3	79·5
68	,,	(class II)	71	16·6	86·0
69	Kumāra-gupta I	10 Archer	190	14·4	74·7
70	,,	,,	192	14·2	73·6
71	,,	,,	193	14·3	74·2
72	,,	,,	194	15·3	79·5
73	,,	,,	195	15·4	80·0
74	,,	,,	196	14·5	75·1
75	,,	,,	197	14·2	73·6
76	,,	,,	198	13·4	69·6
77	,,	,,	199	14·8	76·7

TABLE I. (b)

Department of Coins and Medals British Museum, London W. C. I. 29th November, 1955

Report by Dr. Walker, keeper of Coins and Medals, British Museum, London on some of the Gupta Coins of ancient India, as tested by the Museum Laboratory staff :—

Serial number	Name of the King	Type	B. M. catalogue Number.	Specific gravity of the coins (Sp. G. of pure gold= 19·32	P/c of Pure gold (to the nearest in whole number)
1	Samudra-gupta	Standrrd type	1	16·77	87·/·
2	,,	,,	2	16.58	86·i·
3	,,	Kāca type	41	15·86	82·/·
4	,,	,,	42	15·88	82·/·
5	,,	,,	43	15·63	81·/·
6	,,	,,	44	15·99	83·/·
		Chandragupta Kumaradevi type			
7	,,	,,	23	15·81	82·/·
8	,,	,,	24	17·5	91·/·
9	,,	,,	25	17·5	91·/·
10	,,	,,	26	15·96	83·/·
11	,,	,,	27	17·71	92·/·
12	,,	,,	28	17·45	90·/·
13	Samudra-gupta	Archer type :—	19	17·28	89·/·
14	,,	Lyrist type :—	50	17·23	89·/·
15	Chandra-gupta II	Archer	63	16·1	83·/·
16	,,	,,	83	15·45	80·/·
17	Kumara-gupta I	Archer	190	14·28	74·/·

S/d JOHN WALKER KEEPER

TABLE I (c)

Laboratory report of certain later Gupta Coins as given by Dr. Allan[1]

Serial No.	King	Coin type	B. M. C number	sp. gr.	Percentage of pure gold
1	Skandgupta	Archer	428	15·3	78%
2	,,	,,	417	Not stated	74%
3	,,	,,	418	,,	67%
4	,,	,,	419	,,	67%
5	,,	King and Lakshmi	422	,,	72%
6	,,	,,	423	,,	79%
7	,,	Archer type	426	,,	76%
8	,,	,,	427	,,	79%
9	,,	,,	428	,,	79%
10	Kumāragupta II Karmāditya	Archer	471	15·38	77%
11	Purugupta	Archer	550	15·06	77%
12	,, (Dr. Hoey)	Archer type	...	...	70%
13	Prakāśāditya	Horseman	552	15·	77%
14	Narasimha-gupta	Archer type	560	14·1	71%
15	,,	,,	565	12·29	54%
16	Vainyagupta	Archer	589	14·54	73%
17	Kumāragupta II (? III)	Archer	576	12·26	54%

1. **Sinha's Appendix I a, b, c.**

TABLE II (a)

Abstract of table I(a), showing pure gold content of Coins :—

Serial Number	King	Coin Type	Average weight in air grains	Average Percentage of Pure gold	Average Content of Pure gold. (grains)
1	Samudra-gupta	Standard	116·	83·5	98·
2	,,	Archer	118·	88·8	104.
3	(Samudra-gupta)	Chandra-gupta	118·	91·9	109·
	Chandragupta I	Kumāra-devī			
4	Samudra-gupta	Battle-axe	118·	82·8	98·
5	,,	Kācha	116·	83·8	98·
6	,,	Tiger* (weight of only one coin out of two in B. M. C.)	118·	89·3	105·
7	,,	Lyrist	118·	87·7	104·
8	,,	Aśśvamedha	118·	82·7	98·
9	Chandragupta II	Archer	118·	84·6	99·
10	Kumārgupta I	Archer	122·	75·2	92·

TABLE II (b)

Reports of tests of some of the Kushāṇa and Gupta gold coins as given by Cunningham :—

Number of the coins examined	Name of King	Total weight of the coin	Pure gold content	Percentage of pure gold
	[Kushāṇa Coins :—]			
7	Wema Kadphises	123·0	112·75	92·/·
11	Kaṇiṣka	123·0	112·75	92·/·
25	Huviṣka	123·0	112·75	92·/·
21	Vāsudeva	123·0	112·95	84·/·
	[Gupta Coins :—]			
8	Kācha	123·0	102·5	83·/·
12	Chandragupta I	123·0	107·6	87·/·
50	Samudragupta	123·0	107·6	87·/·
40	Chandragupta II	123·3	107·6	87·/·
45	Kumāragupta I	123·0	107·6	87·/·
48	(a) Skandagupta	124·6	108·4	87·/·
9	(b) His heavier coins	140·0	73·0	52·/·
4	Narasiṁhagupta	146·0	73·0	50·/·
2	Kumāragupta II	148	66·5	45·/·
2	Viṣṇugupta	142	66·5	45·/

(1) Cunningham's *Coins of Mediæval India* P. 16.

TABLE III (a)

Laboratory reports on some of the gold Coins of Vāsudeva (or Bazodeo) of the Kuṣāṇa dynesty from the British Museum, London, as tested by Mr. S. K. Gupta and the author :—

Serial Number	Name of the king	B. M. Catalogue Number.	Specific gravity	Percentage of pure gold.
1	Vāsudeva (Bazodeo)	1	18·9	98·0
2	,,	2	19·3	100·0
3	,,	6	19·1	99·0
4	,,	7	18·8	97·5
5	,,	8	17·1	88·8
6	,,	9	17·5	90·7
7	,,	10	18·9	98·0
8	,,	11	19·0	98·5
9	,,	15	18·7	97·0
10	,,	19	16·0	83·0
11	,,	20	17·7	91·7

TABLE III (b)

Abstract of table III, showing pure gold content of Coins of Vāsudeva :—

Total Number of Coins	Name of the king	Average weight in air (grains)	Average Percentage of pure gold	Average Content of pure gold
11	Vāsudeva (or Bazodeo)	124	94·7	118

THE MUDRĀ OF 'RĀKSHASA' IN VIŚĀKHADATTA'S MUDRĀRĀKSHASAM

By S. V. Sohoni, I. C. S., Patna

The title 'Mudrārākshasam' is explained as मुद्रया संगृहीतो राक्षसः i. e. where Rākshasa was won over through a signet ring– *his* signet ring. The plot of this Sanskrit drama, unique in several respects, turns mainly upon how Chāṇakya makes use of a signet ring of 'Rākshasa' obtained by one of his spies through pure accident. Time and again, Chāṇakya emphasised his conviction that well directed effort[1] gave success; and that only fools blamed their fate. In other words, he subscribed to a positive and scientific outlook. A rationale of a signet ring is best furnished in numismatic terms. Accordingly, certain details given in this drama about Rākshasa's signet ring, deserve analysis.

When ordered[2] by Chāṇakya, his spy gave, in his personal report, a detailed account[3] of how he happend to get that signet ring. It had slipped from a lady's hand– it was made for a man's wear (viz. of Rākshasa) and was obviously loose on a lady's finger (viz. of his wife). It fell out on the floor outside a threshold, where that spy, (disguised as a professional exhibitor of religious scrolls) had spread over his pictures. He employed a very striking simile for describing how that signet ring came to a stop near him– he said that it looked like a well behaved young lady doing a salutation. I give alongside a representation of such a lady– necessarily slender–in the Amarāvati sculpture and also in the Ajantā frescoes (*cf.* page 181 figures shown at the bottom). The ring, therefore, could be assumed to have had a circular space with a flat piece attached to it on one side. That flat piece could be used as a stamp– which is not at all a rare arrangement. While dropping down, the

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(1) cf. "अर्थस्य मूलमुत्थानं किं करिष्यन्ति नारकाः । कौ० अ०
and "दैवमविद्वांसः प्रमाणयन्ति ।" मु० रा० III

(2) "भद्र, अङ्गुलीमुद्रागमं विस्तरेण श्रोतुमिच्छामि" in Act I which is called "Acquisition of the Ring."

(3) "तस्याः कुमारसंरोधसंभ्रमप्रचलिताङ्गुले: करात् पुरुषाङ्गुलि परिणाह-प्रमाणघटितेयमङ्गुलिमुद्रिका देहलीबन्धे पतिता तया नवबुद्धा मम चरणपार्श्वं समागत्य प्रणामनिभृता कुलवधूरिव निश्चला संवृत्ता । मयाप्यमात्यराक्षसस्य नामाङ्कितेत्यार्यस्य पादमूलं प्रापिता । तदेषोऽस्या आगमः ।" (pp. 10).

signet ring must have come to a halt when it rested on its flat portion. The spy did not tell Chāṇakya that he read the name 'Rākshasa' on the signet ring *while* it was rolling. He must have read it on picking it up and after examining it. These are some reasonable inferences about the size and the shape of the signet ring ; and figure III is based on them:

Secondly, about the name 'Rākshasa' engraved upon it. It is clear that in a seal or a signet ring, the mould would read letters backwards[4] in order to give, in the stamp, the correct sequence of letters. Thus the first letter in such a seal or ring, read from left to right, would be the last letter in the word e.g. for Rāksasa स and not रा. (I am assuming that क्ष was pronounced as ख , which would perhaps be readily conceded).

That this signet ring contained the name 'Rākshasa' and perhaps not so much any detail of his official designation seems to have been emphasised whenever this ring is discussed among the *dramatis*[5] *personae*. The word नाम is used ; and that word becomes significant. For present purposes, however, it is enough to note that the letters must necessarily have been put in their reverse order on the signet ring– and whether these were the only letters on that signet ring is immaterial, for reasons which are stated later.

I venture to suggest that Viśākhadatta was hinting very broadly at some very important facts concerning Chandragupta's succession, viz. that his predecessor had been loyally served by a great minister ; acute tension and war between that predecessor and Chandragupta ; and that great minister being persuaded, ultimately, to serve Chandragupta.

This important sequence has been stated in unmistakable terms by an Arab historian writing in 1026[6] A. D. He had

(4) This is the normal way of using a seal.

(5) e. g. the spy reports "मयाप्यमात्यराक्षसस्य नामाङ्कितेयमार्यस्य पादमूलं प्रापिता ।" There is also a stage direction about Chāṇakya, "मुद्रामवलोक्य गृहीत्वा राक्षसस्य नाम वाचयति ।" (Act I) In Act II Śakaṭadāsa tells Rākshasa himself. "अमात्य भवन्नामाङ्कितेयं मुद्रा ।"

(6) Elliot Vol. I (pp. 110-112).

History of Rawwal and Barkamaris– When Rasal died his eldest son Rawwal assumed the sovereignty. It happened that a certain king had a daughter of great intelligence. Wise and learned men had declared that the man who should marry this girl should become king of four climes. All the kings and princes of the Hindus sought her, but no one pleased her except Barkamaris, who was very handsome. When Barkamaris brought her home his brother said, as she pleased you so does she please me. Then he took the girl with her handmaids. Barkamaris said to himself "The damsel chose me for my wisdom and there is nothing better than wisdom". So he gave himself up to study, and associated with learned and the Brahamans, till he reached such perfection that he had no equal.

admittedly drawn upon earlier Sanskrit sources. A summary of his narration published, decades ago, in a French research journal, was extracted in Elliot's "History of India As Told by Her Own Historians"; and was referred to frequently in connexion with a now famous discussion regarding Rāmagupta as immediate

When the rebel who had expelled their father (Rasal) heard the story of the damsel, he said "Can they who do such things occupy such a position ?" So he led an army and put Rawwal to flight. Rawwal with his brothers and nobles all went to the top of a mountain where a strong fortress had been built. Then they set guards on the summit and felt secure. But the enemy got possession of the mountain by stratagem, and besieged the fort, and was near upon taking it. Rawwal then sent to sue for peace, and his enemy said—"Send me the girl, and let every one of your chiefs send a girl. I will give these girls to my officers,—then I will withdraw". Rawwal was dejected, but he had a wazir, blind of both eyes, named Safar, of whom he enquired what was to be done. He advised him to give up the women and save his life. He might then take measures against his enemy, but if he lost his life what would be the good of children and wife, and riches. They resolved upon this course, but just at this juncture, Barkamaris came in, and after making his salutation, said "I and the king are sons of the same father ; if he will acquaint me with his opinion, it may be that I may be able to suggest something,–do not take my youth into consideration". So they informed him of the facts. He then said, "It seems proper that I should take my life for the king : let an order be given for me to be dressed like a woman, and let all the officers dress their sons in like manner as damsels, and let us each conceal a knife in our hair, and carry a trumpet also concealed ; then send us to the king. When we are brought before the king they will tell him that I am the damsel, he will keep me for himself and give the others to his officers. When the king retires with me I will rip up his belly with the knife and sound the trumpet. When the other youths hear this they will know that I have done my work, they must also do theirs. All the officers of the army thus we slain. You must be prepared, and when you hear the trumpet, you must sally forth with your soldiers and we will exterminate the foe". Rawwal was delighted and did as was proposed. It succeeded, not one of the enemy's horsemen escaped, all were slain and cast down from the mountain. Rawwal's power increased. (The Wazir excites the king's suspicions against Barkamaris, who feigns madness).

One day in the hot season, Barkamaris was wandering barefoot about the city, and came to the gate of the king's palace. Meeting no hinderance he entered, and found his brother and the damsel sitting on a throne sucking a sugar cane. When Rawwal saw him he observed that there could be no porters at the gate, otherwise the poor mendicant would never have got in. Taking pity on him, he gave him a bit of sugar cane. The mendicant took it, and picked up a piece of the shell of the cane to scrape and clean it with. When the king saw that he wanted to clean the cane, he told the damsel to give him a knife. She rose and gave the knife to Barkamaris, who cleaned the sugar cane with it, and carefully watched until the king was off his guard Than sprung up upon him and plunging the knife into his navel, ripped him up. After that he seized his feet and dragged him from the throne. He next called the wazir and the people, and seated himself on the throne amid the plaudits of the people. He burnt the body of the king, took aback the damsel and married her, and restored order.

Then he called the wazir and said "I know that it was you who counselled my brother in his dealings with me, but this was no fault nor as it blameable. It was God's will that I should be king, so continue to govern the kingdom as you did for my brother". Safar replied, "You have spoken the truth, all that I did was for the good and advantage of your brother, not out of enmity to you. But I have resolved upon burning myself, and cannot do as you desire. I was with your brother in life, and I will be with him in death." Barkamaris told him that he wanted him to write a book on the duties of kings, on government and justice. Safar consented, and wrote the

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predecessor and elder brother of Chandragupta Sāhasāṅka.[7]

The common elements between Viśakhadatta's story in the Mudrārākshasaṃ and Devī-Chandraguptaṃ and the Arab account are far too obvious to require any detailed statement. To one aspect, however, particular attention is drawn. How old was Chandragupta when he became king ? I suggest that it would be wrong to assume that there was no long interval between the elimination of Rāmagupta's enemy by Chandragupta and Chandragupta's seizure of power from Ramagupta. The Arab account distinctly refers to a growth in Ramagupta's power after his Saka enemy was destroyed. Secondly, if implications of Vākāṭaka chronology were taken into account and Pravarasena II's birth put in c.390 A.D. as "the second[8] if not the third or fourth child of his parents", it would follow that in 376-7 A.D. Chandragupta was not exactly a child, since his daughter Prabhāvatīgupta was married round about 380 A. D. when she must have been at least 10 years old. Rāmagupta apparently reigned longer than is generally believed.

I would venture to suggest that it was Śikhara, a minister, already old in Chandragupta's time, who might have served his predecessor. There is on record an inscription mentioning Śikhara, of 436[9] A. D.

Not that alone. There has been, in the context of Rāmagupta, an identification of Śikhara on independent grounds also.[10]

A numismatic analysis of this signet ring in Viśākhadatta's drama gives surprisingly consistent conclusions, viz. that there was a minister Śikhara who had served Chandragupta Vikramāditya's predecessor and who had to serve Chandragupta Vikramāditya, despite his loyalty to his predecessor.

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book, which is called "Adabu-l Muluk," "Instruction of kings". I have transcribed it in this book, for I have written an abstract of it. When it was finished he took it to Barkamaris and read it, and all the nobles admired and praised it. Then he burnt himself. The power of Barkamaris and his kingdom spread, until at length all India submitted to him. Such was Barkamaris. I have related all the facts just as I found them.

(7) S. Levi (JA. CCIII, pp. 201 ff) ; R. Sarasvati (IA. LII, pp. 181 ff) ; A. S. Altekar (JBORS. XIV, 223 ff ; XV, 134 ff) ; R. D. Banerji (AIG. pp. 26 ff) ; Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar (Malaviya Comm. Vol. pp. 189 ff) ; K. P. Jayaswal (JBORS. XVIII. 17 ff) ; Winternitz (Aiyangar Comm. Vol. pp. 359 ff) ; Sten Konow (JBORS. XXIII, 444) ; V. V. Mirashi (IHQ. X. 48 ; IA. LXII, 201) , N. Das Gupta (IC. IV, 216).

In this context I would add that it is significant that the Commander of Malayaketu's army was Śikharasena (M. R. Act V).

(8) A New History of the Indian People Vol VI (pp. 110).

(9) EI, X, 71-72.

(10) cf. Jayaswal in J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XVIII Pt. I pp. 22, "Safar is the Arabic rendering of Śekhara. The name transcribed as صقر (Siqar) after losing one dot, became صفر (Sifar or Safar)."

I have examined elsewhere certain geographical aspects of the Mudrārākṣasaṃ which clearly indicate that Viśākhadatta had intimate acquaintance with Pāṭaliputra and its neighbourhood and that the[11] Son river was then flowing exactly as it was as indicated by Kalidāsa.

While discussing these numismatic aspects of Rākshasa's signet ring, one word may be said about 'Rākshasa' himself—as a dramatic character invented by a very clever author. It is well known that in the basic historical material from the Bṛihat Kathā,[12] there is no reference to any Rākshasa as a minister of either king Nanda or of Chandragupta Maurya. This personality and its name were regarded as Viśākhadatta's own creation.

It was, however, impossible that such an important factor in affairs which obviously recapitulated, through double entendre and allusion, a group of historical circumstances, should not hold on to a genuine personality for its foundation. I submit that our study clarifies this point—'Rākshasa' was indeed a real person whose name could be got at, if basic letters in that word 'Rākshasa' were read in reverse, with very slight modification.

This explains why, in the Nāndi itself[13], Viśākhadatta has put a significant line concerning a name—

"How is that you do not know this name which is so familiar to you", a query which any contemporary or knowledgeable audience could have deeply appreciated. For it referred to Śikhara. In fact, much fun[14] has been derived out of this word 'Rākshasa' itself, particularly, through utterances of Kshapaṇaka, who plays, more or less, a buffoon's role in this drama. As long as he had remained the key figure in the opposite camp, Śikhara's enemies could easily have referred to him as 'Rākshasa' a veritable demon, particularly, when his own seal itself showed letters virtually in that order and which sounded so much like that word.

If a digression were permitted, the names of some other *dramatis personœ*, particularly the allies of Malayaketu, also

(11) R. V. VII 36 "प्रत्यग्रहीत्पार्थिववाहिनीं तां भागीरथीं शोण इवोत्तरंग:"

(12) बृहत्कथामूलम् मुद्राराक्षसम् (धनिक's वृत्ति on दशरूपकम्)

(13) किं नु नामैतदस्या
नामैवास्यास्तदेतत्परिचितमपि ते विस्मृतं कस्य हेतो: ।

(14) e.g. Act V "राक्षसस्य पिशाचस्य वा ।" and
"तत्र गमिष्यामि यत्र राक्षसस्य पिशाचस्य वा नामापि न श्रूयते ।"
and stanza No. 7 particularly "अन्वर्थतोऽपि ननु राक्षस राक्षसोसि,"
uttered by Malayaketu.

probably contained disguised references to historical characters. In Maratha history, there are many documents in which names were obscured to preserve temporary secrecy, e.g. only first letters giving the clue to the real name etc.

During excavations at Vaiśālī, many seals of officers of Gupta kings have been found ; and among them there are some which contain only personal names. But whether Rākshasa's signet ring had only his name or in addition, his designation or details of official status as well, this conclusion about Śikhara remains unaffected.

Viśākhadatta, apparently, wrote two dramas on Chandragupta Vikramāditya, viz. the Mudrārākshasaṃ and the Devī Chandraguptaṃ, both of which seem to have genuine historical background and might well have been works of a contemporary.

It may be recalled that even the ring (which is Kālidāsa's own addition to the Mahābhārata plot in the Abhijñāna Śākuntalaṃ of Kālidāsa has been referred to as 'अङ्गुलीयकम्' and 'नाममुद्रा' (vide. Anusuyā's remarks in Act IV viz. "स्वनामधेयाङ्कितमङ्गुलिकम्" and Vidūshaka's and Dushyanta's remarks in Act VI viz. (pp. 112 of A. S.) Dushyanta says—पश्चादिमां मुद्रां तदङ्गुलौ निवेशयता मया प्रत्यभिहिता—

एकैकमत्र दिवसे दिवसे मदीयं
नामाक्षरं गणय गच्छति यावदन्तम् ।"

This shows how cleverly Kālidāsa utilised his knowledge of administrative processes. Such a signet ring could be made over by an able king only to a most trustworthy person. In fact Vidūshaka asks, "भो, इयं नाममुद्रा केनोद्घातेन तत्र भवत्यो हस्ताभ्यासं प्राशिता" even Sānumatī has that curiosity. Dushyanta gave his signet ring to Śakuntalā not merely to help her count the number of days for the arrival of her escort from the capital– he had a much more practical object in parting with his signet ring. His intention was to invest the temporary holder of his personal seal with that status, importance and intimacy which, on that person being a lady, could have clearly implied that she was Dushyanta's queen. It was an important device of affirmation– one which he had carried with him even while out on a hunt.

Kālidāsa strictly kept normal experience in view when a man's finger ring was lost by a lady while bowing down and saluting–for it must necessarily have been loose on her finger. Dushyanta explains how Śakuntalā lost that signet ring, "शचीतीर्थम् वंदमानायाः सख्यास्ते हस्तात् गंगास्रोतसि परिभ्रष्टम्" In fact even the simile of a girl doing her salutation, used by Viśākhadatta *might*

have been suggested by this passage in the Abhijñāna Śākuntalam.

A student of numismatics should be happy that in India's Gupta age when some of her best coins were minted and some of her best dramas produced, in at least two great literary compositions a signet ring played a decisive role.

A NEW HOARD OF THE SILVER COINS OF GĀṄGEYADEVA

By Dr. (Miss) Padma. A. Altekar

Among the successors of the Guptas, Gāṅgeyadeva was the first Chedi king of Tripuri, who issued gold currency in large quantity. But whether he issued coins in silver or not is a question of great controversy among scholars. Cunningham has published two of his silver coins, one being a *dramma*, being 60 grains in weight and the other a quarter *dramma*. He describes the latter as unique, suggesting thereby that silver *drammas* were common.[1] Smith has also referred to his silver pieces, but he has observed that they should be regarded as "officially gold" though their gold is heavily adulterated.[2] The specific gravity of one such piece in the cabinet of the Patna University was ascertained and found to be 11.61. The specific gravity of silver is 9.10 and that of gold is 10.32. We can therefore well understand that the so-called base gold coins of Gāṅgeyadeva may have been mistaken for silver by Cunningham ; the position of Smith therefore may be well understood when he describes the silver coins as officially gold plated with silver.

There is, however, no impossibility in Gāṅgeyadeva issuing silver coins. Many of his predecessors, contemporaries and successors like the Hūṇas, Pratīhāra king Bhoja, Sāmantadeva, Spalapatideva and Vígrahapāla are known to have issued silver currency in copious numbers, and hence it is not unlikely that Gāṅgeyadeva also would have done the same. This hypothesis is made clear by the recent discovery of a big hoard consisting of 54 silver pieces of Gāṅgeyadeva near Jabalpur by Dr. M. C. Choube. The coins of this hoard were sent to Dr. A. S. Altekar for examination and he handed them over to me for publication. I am therefore grateful to him and Dr. Choube for kindly allowing me to publish them. The coins are of great importance, because they clearly show that Gāṅgeyadeva had issued silver coins. They are distinctly white in colour and there is nothing yellowish in them to suggest that they were tinged with gold, or gold-coated.

The coins of this hoard are similar in device to the gold coins of Gāṅgeyadeva. They are all round in shape ; their highest weight goes up to 4.004 grammes or 62.76 grains and the lowest is 3 76 grammes or 58.75 grains. The specific gravity of

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1. C.M.I. p. 72. Pl. VIII, 485,
2. I.M.C. I p. 252,

one of his silver coins is 10.5, while that of one of the present specimens is 9.10. There is therefore some alloy mixed in these coins; it may be either copper, lead or zinc. Had there been gold admixture, the specific gravity would have been higher than 10.5.

Like his gold coins, the present silver coins of Gāṅgeyadeva have also on their obverse, the name of the king Śrīmadgāṅgeya-deva in three lines and on the reverse, a crude representation of goddess Lakshmī, nimbate, seated cross-legged inside a dotted circle. She has usually four hands and the lotus can be seen in one of them on many coins.

As regards the metrology, it is important to note that in the Gupta period, the weight standard of gold coins was different from that of silver; but Gāṅgeyadeva seems to have followed the same weight standard for his gold and silver currency. It may be further pointed out that the Eastern and Western Chedis followed an identical weight standard for their gold, silver and copper currency. (Pl. XI, 1-3)

I describe and illustrate three coins of this hoard.

(1) Size—·8″; Weight—62·2 grains.

Obv.—Legend in two lines; out of which *Śra, ma, ya* and *de* are clearly visible. A part of *dgā* can also be made out in the upper right quadrant.

Rev.—Goddess Lakshmī, seated and cross-legged in a dotted circle, the upper part of which is visible. She has four hands; one of the right hand is holding lotus bud. Her face is not very distinct; ears with pendants are exaggarated in size. Torso is indicated by three dots, two standing for two breasts and the lower one for the stomach.

Size—·8″; Weight 58·7 grains.

Obv.—Legend in two lines, out of which the letters *Śri mada* in the upper line are distinct while in the second line only *ya* is clear.

Rev.—As above but no lotus-bud in the hand. Face and torso indicated as above.

(3) Size—·8″; Weight 61·2 grains.

Obv.—Legend in two lines. The letters *ma* and *dga* are clear in the upper line while *ya* and some portion of the letter *de* can be seen in the lower line.

Rev.—As on No. 2.

The weight of twenty coins of this hoard, which were carefully ascertained are: 3·985; 3·718; 4·01; 3·920; 4·004; 3·955; 3·89; 3·76; 3·913; 3·96; 3·898; 3·927; 3·680; 3·928; 3·826; 3·976; 3·955; 3·985; 3·640; 3·813; 3·955.

THE SILVER COINS OF JAYASIṀHA.

By Parmeshwari Lal Gupta, M. A.

Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

In an interesting note, published in this *Journal*[1], Shri Amrita Pandya has described six tiny silver coins, which were found at Pilwai, near Patan in Gujarat. They have on the obverse an elephant to right within a beaded border and the legend, which has been read by him as *Srīmajjayasiṁha* in Nagari characters on the reverse. He has attributed these coins to Jayasiṁha Siddharāja, the Chalukya ruler of Anhilwarapatan (1142-1173 A. D.) ; but Dr. U. P. Shah has suggested that they may belong to Jayasimha or Jayatsimha, who for some time usurped the Chalukyan throne after Ajayapala.[2] But before accepting either of the views, it seems neccessary that the legend on these coins should be examined carefully.

Shri Pandya has read the legend on his coins as follows :

(i) श्रीम

(ii) ज्जयसि

(iii) ङ्ह

The examination of the photographs of these coins shows that none of the coins have the letters, that have been read by Shri Pandya in the third line. The letters in the third line on all the coins are truncated. But the coin 5[3] suggests that the letters may be *Paya,* coin 6 has a single letter with a medial, which suggests that the letter may be *pi. Pi* in somewhat preserved form is also seen on coin 9. Traces of the word *piya* appear on coin 10. The coin 8 seems to have the letters *Pīya*. Thus the legends on these coins may be in two forms as follows :

A. (i) श्रीम		B. (i) श्रीम	
(ii) ज्जयसिं		(ii) ज्जयसिं	
(iii) प्रिय		(iii) प्रीय	

The coin 7 seems to have a little different legend. It shows only the top line and truncated part of a letter of the second line. Here in the first line we have clear letters *Sri ma* followed by the

1. Vol. XVI, p. 283-84.

2. *Ibid,* p. 284.

3. The number of the coins, referred to in this paper are those that are given on Pl. V of Vol. XVI of this *Journal,* where these coins are illustrated.

traces of a third, which is not possible to suggest but may be part of *ja*. The truncated letter in the second line may be *ya*, or *si*.

Five coins of this very type was reported by me as existing in the collection of Shri N. W. Ghoghari of Veraval, which were found by him at Vanthali, 9 miles from Junagarh.[4] Recently I had an occasion to examine these coins by the kind courtesy of their possessor. Only one of his coins has the similar arrangement of the legend as is the legend A given above, though the third line is out of flan. The other four coins may be divided into two groups having a little different arrangements as follows :

C. (i) श्रीमज्ज	D. (i) श्री
(ii) जय सिंह	(ii) ज य सिं
(iii) प्रिय	(iii) ह प्रि य

The coin 7 of Shri Pandya seems to belong to variety C in respect of its legend. The variety D is quite new known from this source only. Here the letter *ya* of the second line is a little downward than the two other letters *ja* and *sim* i. e. placed midway between second and the third line. Similarly the letter *pri* is little below the letters *ha* and *ya* of the third line. However one coin of Shri Ghoghari leaves no doubt that the legend contains a word *priya* in the legend, (Pl. XI, 4-8)

There are two other coins of this series in the Prince of Wales Museum. They originally belonged to Prof. Hodivala collection. They were first noticed by Shri G. V. Acharya[5] and subsequently I referred to them in a small note in this *Journal*.[6] Both of them belong to Var. C in respect of their legends. Here on one the word *p[r]iya* is clear enough to be read.

Thus the coins of this type are known to have been issued atleast from four different dies, and the coins bear atleast two types of legends (i) *Srimajjayasiṁpriya* and (ii) *Srijayasiṁha-priya*. These two types of legends may be suggestive, though not couclusive, that the coins were issued on different occasions. Coins issued at one and the same occasion, though may be made from different dies are expected to have similar legends. As such these can only be issued by a ruler with some stability, rather than that of an usurper.

The most interesting word is *priya* on these coins. It appears to be a most unusual thing. This word is never known

4. Vol. XVII, pt. I, p. 113.
5. *Proceedings of the Baroda Session of the Oriental Conference*,
6. Vol. XVII, pt. I, p. 113.

associated with any proper name as its part; and we know no ruler who might have been known as Jayasiṁhapriya. But we have some epigraphic references where the word *priya* is used in association with the name of the ruler, while his dramma coins are mentioned, viz. *Bhīmapriya Dramma,*[7] and *Vīsalpriya dramma.*[8] A treatise called *Lekhapaddhati* also mentions *Vīsal-priya dramma* and *Visvamallapriya dramma.*[9] It is not unlikely that *priya* on the present coins might be having same connotation as *priya* in the instances mentioned above.

There is another epigraphical reference of drammas, where they are called *Vīsalpuri*;[10] and they appear to mean the same coins, which have been called *Vīsalpriya drammas* elsewhere. If *puri* in the former name is currupt synonym of *priya* in the latter, it helps us in moving a little further in the direction of the identification of the issuer of the present coins.

In a treatise entitled *Davva Parikhā* by Thakkur Pheru, the mint-master of the Delhi mint during the times of Alauddin Khilji, we have a long list of different coins that used to come to his mint. There we have various names like Kumarpurī, Ajayapurī, Bhīmpurī, Lakhapurī, Arjunpurī, Bīsalpurī, etc. under the title *Gurjarī Mudrā* i. e. the coins of Gujarat.[11] We know that all of these names are of the well known rulers of Gujarat—Kumārapala Ajayapala, Bhīma, Bisaldeva, Arjuna. Since all these here bear the epithet *puri,* which may be the same as *priya,* it may be well inferred that Jayasiṁha, bearing the epithet *priya,* may also belong to the same locality and not unlikely of the same dynasty.

As such, the only person, whom we can associate with these coins, to my mind is Jayasiṁha Siddharāja and Shri Pandya has rightly attributed these coins to him. The find spots Vanthali in Saurashtra for Shri Ghoghari's coin, Junagarh for Hodivala's coins, Pilvai in North Gujarat for Shri Pandya's coin, are strong points in favour of this attribution.

However, these few facts that have come to my notice are being placed for the consideration of scholars, with the hope that these might help them in arriving at some right conclusions.

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7. *E. I.* XI, 59-60; *Bhīmpriya drammas* are also mentioned in the Jaina work *Purātan Prabandha Saṁgraha,* c.f. *JNSI,* Vol. XVII, pt. II, p. 71.

8. *Bombay Gazetteer,* I, pt. I, p. 488; Nahar, *Jain Inscriptions,* I, p. 163.

9. Dalal, *Lekhapaddhati,* Baroda, p. 20.

10. *JNSI,* XVII, pt. II, p. 73.

11. Unpublished manuscript in the Jain Bhandar at Calcutta. It is being edited by Dr. V. S. Agrawala.

MUGHAL MEDALLIONS

BY R. B. WHITEHEAD

'The massive medals in gold and silver which it was the pride of the Mughal Emperors of India to stamp with their titles and store in their treasure-houses have been for centuries the theme of envy and admiration. The earliest mention of these phenomenal pieces in European literature occurs in the *Voyages* of Captain William Hawkins who wrote about 1611 A.D.; he was profoundly impressed by the wealth, and magnificence of the Court of Jahangir.' So begins Professor S. H. Hodivala's admirable and fully documented account of 'Gigantic Coins', the fourth section of his *Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics*, Calcutta, 1923. An elaborate inventory of the treasure said to have been found in the fortress of Agra at Akbar's death included gold pieces equivalent in weight to 100, 50 and 25 *tolas* respectively.[1] The *Ā'īn i Akbarī* describes gold coins rising in weight from two to one hundred *tolas*. The members of the Third Jesuit Mission to Akbar's Court witnessed the emperor's personal inspection of newly minted gold coins of many different values.

Jahangir in his diary, the *Tūzuk i Jahāngīrī*, of the first year, writes that he ordered the coining of gold and silver of different weights, 100, 50, 20, 10 and 5 *tolas*[2]; portentous medals of 200, 300, 500, and even 1000 *tolas*, were stamped by Jahangir and his two successors - *op. cit*,, p. 69. A two hundred mohur piece of Shah Jahan is illustrated in the *British Museum Catalogue*, and there is a drawing of another piece of the same weight in the *Proceedings A.S.B.*, 1883. A hundred mohur piece of Aurangzeb was published and illustrated in the *Proceedings A.S.B.*, 1885. What gigantic pieces have survived the ravages of time? An endeavour to answer this question is recorded on p. 212 of *Num. Chron.*, 1930, Some Notable Coins of the Mughal Emperors, Part III. That paper describes a two-hundred rupee piece of Aurangzeb at Gotha, the only surviving large medal known to me in silver, but I have little doubt that gigantic pieces in both metals still exist in the treasuries of the Indian States.

Mr. Hodivala rightly records his dissent from the opinion that these pieces were consistently designed to serve for the

1. The normal current gold piece known as a *muhr* (mohar) or *ashrafi* weighs *c.* one *tola*.
2. There is a five-*tola* mohur of Jahangir in the British Museum.

purposes of larger payments such as our civilized age recognises in bank notes (*op. cit.*. p. 60), also from the suggestion that they were specially made for presentation by subjects to the emperor. He gives ample reason for the conclusion that these phenomenal issues were merely massive ingots of artistically stamped bullion which were hoarded as stores of value, and occasionally presented to ambassadors, diplomatic agents, and other distinguished persons as complimentary gifts or souvenirs of the imperial favour and magnificence'. This opinion is based on no less than thirty passages taken from native chronicles. Five of these record the presentation in Aurangzeb's reign of silver pieces weighing two hundred rupees. For example, in 1072 A.H. on the occasion of Prince Muazzam's marriage, the Bukhara envoy was given a gold piece weighing three hundred mohurs, anorher weighing two hundred mohurs, and two silver rupees of like weight. On the anniversary in 1041 A.H. of Shah Jahan's birth, the Persian ambassador received four great *ashrafis*, one weighing 400 *tolas*, another 300 *tolas*, a third of 200 *tolas*, and a fourth of 100 *tolas*, also four rupees of the same weight (*sic*). On the Nauroz (New Year) feast of Shah Jahan's nineteenth regnal year, the envoy of Balkh was given two mohurs, one of 200 *tolas* and another of 100 *tolas*.

The awkward and inaccurate label 'gigantic coin' continues to be used *e.g.* Mr. C. J. Brown's The Coins of India, (*The Heritage of India Series*), Calcutta, 1922, p. 91 ; the object of this paper is to show that the Mughal pieces are actually medallions in the usual acceptance of the term. They can usefully be compared with Roman medallions; reference is invited to the authoritative account by Professor J. M. C. Toynbee—*Numismatic Studies*, No. 5, Roman Medallions. American Numismatic Society, New York, 1944.[1] Roman medallions were struck primarily not for circulation as cash but for presentation as personal gifts from the emperor on special or solemn occasions such as imperial adoptions, marriages, births and deaths, the New Year's Day festival As at Rome, the Mughal pieces were presented to selected individuals though these were primarily of political importance, and need not have been highly cultured as well as highly placed. Professor Toynbee remarks that research has so far failed to disclose the name of one single recipient of Roman medallions; we know the names of several who received Mughal medallions, (Hodivala, *op. cit.*, pp. 62, 70 f). What she calls 'money medallions' are true multiples of gold and silver current coin, but they did not

1. See also Toynbee, J. M. C. Roman Medallions ; their Scope and Purpose. *Num. Chron.*, 1944. as rare and special presentation pieces, potentially money but actually preserved and treasured by their recipients as tokens of honour or pledges of imperial favour. This is also the case with the Mughal money medallions.

form part of the regular currency as proved first of all by their rarity—Toynbee, *op. cit.*, pp. 22, 23. Earlier gold multiples ranged from 2 to 100.[6] As for the larger multiples, their size and high intrinsic value, their fine style and technique, and their varied and individual character mark them out.

THE BANGĀLA COUPLET OF AKBAR.

By R. B. Whitehead

Bangāla is given as a mint of Akbar in the *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*. The name was first tentatively read by Mr. C. J. Rodgers on the two square rupees *Punjab Museum Catalogue*, 1914, Vol. II, pp. I vii and 39. In *Numismatic Supplement* XI, Colonel Vost published and illustrated a Bangāla rupee of year A.H. 1011; he remarked that Bangāla was another name for Gaur. Other specimens are those described in *Indian Museum Catalogue*, 1906, p. 35, and *Lucknow Museum Catalogue*, 1920, Vol. II, 32; the legend hitherto accepted is :—

سکه بنگاله ز ان دلخواه شد
که آبروش ضرب اکبر شاه شد

The coin of Bangāla became pleasing from this, That its honour lay in the striking by Akbar Shah.

Mr. Brown repeats Colonel Vost's dictum that Bangāla means Gaur. Some pieces are so poor that the coin can only be described as an uninviting product of remote provincial mint, somewhat uncouth in both matter and style ; the only tolerable specimen so far illustrated is *L. M. Cat.*, Pl. III, 362. The die is usually much larger than the flan, so much so that the reading cannot be regarded as certain and complete ; Mr. Brown notes that there must be additional words not yet elucidated—*L. M. Cat.*, Vol. II., p. 32.

I am indebted for what follows and record my acknowledgments to an important contribution by A. Cortesão to *J.R.A.S.B.* 1945, Part I, Letters, pp. 10f, entitled 'The City of Bengala in early Reports'. A Portuguese description of the East, the *Suma Oriental* of Tomé Pires, written in Malacca and Cochin about 1515 A.D., states that the principal port of Bengala is that of the City of Bengala whence the kingdom derives its name. 'The other port is Satgaon over against Orissa.' Barbosa, writing a little later than Pires mentions the great City of Bengala ; the great City of Banghella also occurs in the *Itinerario*, 1510 of Varthema (Hakluyt Society, 1863). The editor of the last named work asserted that Gaur was undoubtedly the capital of Bengal at this period 'but it appears that the name of the Province was very commonly applied to the city, more especially by foreigners'.

The identification of the 'City of Bengāla' has been the subject of learned controversy in which many scholars have

joined. A comprehensive survey of the problem is recorded by Mr. Longworth Dames in a long note in the second volume of his edition of *The Book of Duarte Barbosa* (Hakluyt Society, 1921); opinions are divided between Gaur, Chittagong, Satgaon, and even Sonargaon, Sripur and Dianga. In 1928 Sir Richard Carnac in his edition of Varthema identified the 'City of Banghella' with Satgaon. It should be noted that Varthema had never been in Bengal, so he as well as Barbosa and Pires wrote from second hand.

The pith of the matter is contained in Father Hosten's observation that the earliest European travellers in Bengal applied the name Bengal (Bangāla) to a variety of places, usually what was, or they thought was the chief port at the time. Gaur began to decline about the middle of the sixteenth century, and practically ceased to exist as a living town after 1575 A.D. (*op. cit.*, p. 13). The recorded dates of Akbar's 'Bangāla' coins belong to a period twenty years later; they run from the 39th regnal year to 1011 A. H., i.e. 1954 to 1602 A. D. Fortunately a coin now in the British Museum puts an end to controversy, at any rate for the period concerned, since it exhibits the full legend; the mint and 'city of Bangāla' is the port of Satgaon.

خلد الله ملکه
اکبر شاه شد ٦...
کابروش ضرب
بنگاله ز ان دلخواه
ضرب بندر ستگانو

The name Satgaon should replace Bangāla in our Mint Lists.

THREE INTERESTING COINS OF GUJARAT SULTANS FOUND AT TALAJA

By B. L. Mankad

Forty-four coins found at Talaja were sent to me for identification by Shri S. R. Rao, Superintendent, Department of Archæology, Western Circle, Baroda. Of these, three billon coins of Gujarat Sultans were found to be interesting and at least one of them reveals a new type. I therefore take an opportunity to publish them with the kind permission of the Director-General of Archæology in India for granting which I am grateful to him. I am also thankful to Shri S. R. Rao for giving me an opportunity to study the coins. (Pl. XI, 10-12)

The coins were found by the Department of Archæology, Western Circle, Baroda, while clearing the debris blocking the mouth of a cave at Talaja situated in the South-east of the peninsula of Kathiawar and known for its Buddhist caves and medieval Hindu and Jain temples.

The coins are interesting for their date, legend and/or metal. All the three coins bear the Hijri year 863. This is an important year in the history of the Gujarat Sultanate as it falls in the reign of three different rulers. It is the last year of Ahmad Shah II and the first year of his brother and successor Mahmud Shah I popularly known as Mahmud Begda. Besides, it was also during this year that for a short period after Ahmad Shah II his uncle Daud Shah occupied the throne. But his imbecile acts soon lead to his deposition and the occupation of the throne by Mahmud Shah I.

Coin No. 1 belongs to Ahmad Shah II, weighs 140 grains and has a diameter of ·65 inches. This coin bears the usual legend of Ahmad Shah II on its obverse and reverse but it is interesting because Billon coins of Ahmad Shah II are not known so far. Even the copper coins of this ruler dated 863 A. H. are rare.

Obverse :—Khalife Almaumnin Amir Khaldat Khilafate X63.

خليفة

المومنين

امير

خلدت خلافته ٨٦٣

Reverse :—Qutb Aldunia va aldeen Ahmad Shah Alsultan.[1]

قطب الدنيا و الدين احمد شاة السلطان

More interesting is Coin No. 2 bearing on its obverse the legend "*Aldunia va aldeen Nasir Mahmud Shah (Alsultan or Abu Alfath ?)*"

الدنيا , الدين ناشر محمود شاة الالا (?)

and on its reverse the legend "*Akh Qutab Shah bin Mahammad Shah Alsultan* X63[2]

اخ قطب شاة
ح
بن محمد شاة
السلطان ٣٦x

The last line of the obverse has not come out fully but more probably it reads 'Alsultān'. السلطان

This is evidently a coin of Mahmūd Shah showing his relationship with Ahmad Shah II as well as Mahmmad Shah II. It weigns 144 grains and has a diameter of .72 inches. Coin No 3 is still more interesting for a peculiar combination of legends and thus reveals a new type not known so far. On its obverse it shows the usual legend of Ahmad Shah II, Viz. "*Khalife Almaumnin Amir Khaldat Khilafate X63.*"

خليفة المومنين امير خلدت خلافته ٣٦x

However, on its reverse, it contains a double legend, i. e. the whole legend as found on the obverse as well as the reverse of the silver coins of Mahmūd Shah I. The legend reads "*Aldunia va Aldeen Nasir abu Alfate Mahmud Shah Alsultan.*"

الدنيا , الدين ناصر ابو الفتح
محمود شاة السلطان

This coin should also be attributed to Mahmud Shah 1, but it forms a new type not so far known in as much as it contains on its obverse a reference to his predecessor and brother Ahmad Shah II with his usual epithets and a prayer that his *Khilafat* may be perpetuated. For, the epithets *Almaumnin Amir* المومنين امير meaning Commander of the Faith were associated with Ahmad Shah II and not with Mahmud Shah I. This coin also weighs 144 grains and has a diameter of ·72".

1. Compare the legend on the obverse and reverse of coin No. 12 (a) in the Catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol. II by H. Nelson Wright, Oxford, 1907.

2. For a similar legend, compare, Taylor G. P. "On some Geneological coins of the Gujarat Sultanate, Numismatic Supplement VI (46) p. 27. Coins No. 15 a-b."

3. Compare the legend on the obverse and the reverse of coin No. 19 in the Catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol. II, by H. Nelson Wright.

THE TWENTY—STATER GOLD PIECE OF EUCRATIDES I.

This is only to draw attention to and republish the unique twenty-stater gold medallion struck by Eucratides I. This coin was first noticed in *Revue Numismatique,* 1867, with a wood-cut illustration[1]. The first photographic illustration so far as we can check is in Seltmen's *Greek-Coins*[2]. Both these illustrations are not easily available to students of Indo-Greek Numismatics in India, who know about the existence of this coin only from the notices about it in Gardner's *British Museum Catalogue, The Greek and Scythic kings of India*[3]', Whitehead's *Punjab Museum Catalogue Vol. I.*[4], *Cambridge History of India Vol. I,*[5] and lastly Narain's *The Coin Types of the Indo-Greek Kings*[6]. But none of these illustrate the coin.

This unique coin of Eucratides I is the proud possession of the Bibliotheca Nationale, Paris. Through the courtesy of Dr. Bivar and the authorities of the Biblitheca Nationale, Dr. Narain obtained a fine photograph of the coin taken from the original and was kind enough to ask me to write a note on it. The coin as it will be clear from the illustration is of the same type as the common Dioscuri type of the silver coins of Eucratides I[7]. The weight of the coin is 168·05 grammes (2593·5) grains, and the size 2·3″ diameter. The monogram upon it is the same as upon the Indian Silver coins of Eucratides I.

Undoubtedly the coin is a remarkable example of superb portraiture and vigorous delineation in art. The unparalleled artistic execution of the coin qualifies this as one of the finest art object of the Greek world. No wonder it has attracted the attention of skilful forgerers, but without any success. No other king or city of ancient times was ever responsible for so ostentatious a display of opulence.[8] A very interesting factual story about the discovery of this unique twenty-stater coin is given in the *Amerisan Journal of Numismatics*[9]. We learn from the account that a group of seven

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1. page 382, plate XII.
2. plate LV, 5.
3. page
4. page 27, It is included as (i) in the list of unrepresented type of Eucratides without any description.
5. page 455.
6. *Numismatic Notes & Monographs, No. 1 of the Numismatic Society of India.* page 11.
7. P. M. C. plate II, 64.
8. Macdonald, Cambridge History of India Vol. I, page 455.
9. Vol. XIV, No. 1 (July 1879), page 18.

persons found this coin together, and when all the seven fought for its possession five were killed. Out of the remaining two, one went to Europe to sell the coin. This man from Bokhara went to London and he wanted £ 5,000 for the coin, but ultimately a French Numismatist succeded in buying the coin on 30,000 francs (= £1200) for the Imperial Museum, Paris. (Pl. IX, 0)

In short, the coin may be described as follows ;—

Obv. : In bead and reel border, helmeted bust of the king to r.

Rev. : Charging Dioscuri to r.

Legend : top : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ
below : ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ.

MRS. SUDHA NARAIN, M. A.

SOME MORE SĀTAVĀHANA COINS.

The following is a list of twenty-one Sātavāhana coins collected by my friend Sri K. Venkatachari of Hyderabad. These coins were purchased in the bazars of Hyderabad and the sellers are reported to have stated that they were obtained from villages in the neighbourhood of the city.

All the coins are of potin and resemble those obtained from Kondapur and Bidar and preserved in the Hyderabad Museum.

These coins belong to three Sātavāhana kings, Sri Pulumavi, Sri Sātakarṇi and Sri Yajña. The coins of these three kings have been obtained together from Brahmapuri and Kondapuram. I have published previously many coins obtained from coastal Andhra districts and ascribed them to Sātakarṇi IV., the younger brother and immediate successor of Pulumāvi and the rival of the Śaka king Rudradaman. I believe that the eighteen coins of this list which contain the legend of Śatakarṇi in one form or the other should also be ascribed to Śātakarṇi IV. These coins are thus a welcome addition.

1. See my article entitled "Coins of Kura kings from Brahmapuri" in *JNSI*, XVII-i, pp. 58-88, particularly p. 66.

2. *ABORI*, XXII, pp. 171-185.

3. "Some Sātavāhana Coins" in *JDHC*, II-2 p. 11 and "Two new Sātavāhana Coins" in *JNSI*, XV-i.

NO.	SIZE	OBVERSE	REVERSE
		COINS OF PUḶUMĀVI	
1.	·7	Elephant facing left with trunk cut. (*Siri*) *Puḷumāvi* (*sa*).	Ujjain symbol with a pellet in each orb.
2.	·7	Animal as above with trunk upraised. *ri Puḷumavisa.*	Do
		COINS OF SĀTAKARNI.	
3.	·7	Animal as above with trunk cut. (*ṇo*) *Siri Sataka.*	Do
4.	·7	Animal as above. (*Siri*) *Satakaṇ*(*i*).	Do
5.	·7	Animal as above. *r*(*i*) *Satakaṇ*(*i*).	Do
6.	·6	Animal as above. *ri Satakaṇ*(*i*).	Do
7.	·7	Animal as above. *Satakaṇisa.*	Do
8.	·7	Animal as above. *Satakaṇ*(*i*).	Do
9.	·7	Animal as above with trunk-upraised. *r*(*i*) *Satakaṇ*(*i*).	Do
10.	·7	Animal as above. *r*(*i*) *Satakaṇi.*	Do
11.	·7	Animal as above. *Satakaṇ*(*i*).	Do
12.	·8	Animal as above. *Satakaṇi.*	Do
13.	·7	Animal as above. *takaṇ* (*isa*).	Ujjain symbol with a pellet in each arch surmounted by crescent.
14.	·7	Animal as above. (*Sa*) *takaṇi.*	Do
15.	·7	Animal as above. *Sataka.*	Ujjain symbol with a pellet in each arch.
16.	·7	Animal as above with trunk hanging. *Stakaṇi.*	Do
		COIN OF YAJÑA SRI	
17.	·7	Animal as above with trunk cut. *ya*(*ṇa*) *Satakaṇisa.*	Do

DR. M. RAMA RAO

A LIST OF THE HOARDS OF SILVER COINS OF THE WESTERN KSHATRAPAS.

1. AMRĀVATĪ (Berar M. P.) ?.

No details are available, but it seems that the hoard included exclusively the coins of one Kshatrapa, who is named as Mahākshatrapa Rudrasena son of Mahākshatrapa Dāmajadaśrī[1].

BG, I, i, 49, 57.

2. GONDARMAU (Bhopal) 1954-55.
51

Vijayasena (MK), 5 ; Rudrasena II (MK), 6 ; Bhartṛidaman (K and MK), 17 ; Viśvasiṁha (K), 10 ; Rudra-siṁha II (K), 3; Rudrasena III (MK), 1; Unassigned, 9.

Indian Archaeology, 1954-55.

3. JUNAGARH (Exact spot not known)
520

Rudradāman I, 3; Dāmajadaśri I, 1; Rudrasimha, 5 ; Rudrasena I, 8 ; Dāmasena, 3 ; Vīradāman, 9; Yaśodāman 2; Vijayasena, 34 ; Dāmajadaśrī II, 9; Rudrasena II, 86; Viśvasiṁha, 56; Bhartṛidāman, 286; Unassigned, 86.

NS XLVII, 97-99.

4. KARAD (Satara) 1861

Number of coins and the classified contents not known ; but it included the coins of Vijayasena, Dāmajadaśrī III, Rudrasena II, Viśvasiṁha Bhartṛidāman and Viśvasena.

BG, I, i, 48-49.

5. KUTCH 1862
142

Damasena I ; Vijayasena, 4 ; Damajadarsi III, 4 ; Ashadama son of Rudrasena (?), 5 ; Rudrasena II, 17 ; Visvasimha, 20 ; Bhartridaman, 48 ; Visvasena, 21 ; Rudrasimha II, 11.

JBBRAS, VII 16.

6. SANCHI 1916-17.
41.

Rudrasena I, 1; Rudrasena II, 7; Viśvasiṁha ; Bhartṛidāman, 11 ; Viśvasena, 8 ; Rudrasiṁha II, 2 ; Rudrasena III, 1 ; Unassigned,

CMAS, 61-64.

7. SARVANIA (Banswara, Rajasthan) 1911
2407

Rudrasimha I (MK), 4 ; Rudrasena I (K), 1, (MK), 9 ;

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1. The identification of the legend on these coins seems doubtful. None of the three Dāmajadaśrīs is known to have a son named Mahākshatrapa Rudrasena from any other source. On the other hand Rudrasena I had a son named Dāmajadaśrī II, but then he is not known as Mahākshatrapa.

Saṅghadāman (MK), 1 ; Dāmasena (MK), 12 ; Dāmajadaśrī II (K), 2 ; Vīradāman (K), 17 ; Yaśodāman (K), 2, MK, 77 ; Vijayasena (K), 11, (MK), 108 ; Dāmajadaśrī III, (MK) 67 ; Rudrasena II (MK), 392 ; Viśvasiṁha (K), 118, (MK), 30 ; (MK or K), 31 ; Bhartṛidāman (K), 144, (MK), 362, (MK or K), 126 ; Viśvasena (K), 395 ; Rudrasimha II (K), 162 ; Yaśodāman II (K), 157 ; Rudrasena III (MK), 44 ; Iśvarapatta (MK), 6 ; Unassigned, 373.

ASIAR, 1913-14,

8. SHIRWAL (Junner) 1847

400

Classified conteut not known, but it included the coins of Vijayasena, Dāmajadaśrī III, Rudrasena II, Bhartṛidāman, Rudrasiṁha II and Iśvaradatta.

JBBRAS, II, 374-80

9. SONEPUR (Chhindwara M. P.) 1925

670 (**633** were recovered and 37 were melted by the finder).

Rudrasena I (MK), 1; Dāmasena (MK), 8; Dāmajadaśrī II (K), 1 ; Vīradāman (K), 10, (MK), 3 ; Yaśodāman (K), 1, (MK), 1 ; Vijayasena (K), 5 ; (MK), 58 ; Dāmajadaśrī III, 19 ; son of Dāmasena (MK), 2; Rudrasena II (MK), 114 ; Viśvasiṁha (K), 17, (MK), 5, (K or MK), 7 ; Bhartṛidāman (K), 17, (MK), 67, (K or MK), 26 ; Viśvasena (K), 150 ; Rudrasiṁha II (K), 41 ; Yaśodāman II (K), 32 ; Rudrasena III (MK), 3, Īśvaradatta (MK), 2 ; Unassigned, 50.

NS, XLVII, 95-99.

10. UPARKOT (Junagarh) 1897

1144

Rudrasena I (MK), 7 ; Dāmasena (MK), 5 ; Vīradāman (K), 10; Vijayasena (K), 1, (MK), 35 ; Dāmajadaśrī III (MK), 9 ; Rudrasena II (MK), 109 ; Viśvasiṁha (K), 51 ; Bhartṛidāman (K and MK), 207 ; Viśvasena (K), 179 ; Rudrasena II (K), 83 ; Yaśodāman II (K), 108 ; Rudrasena III (MK), ıśvaradatta (MK), 3 ; unassigned, 226.

JBBRAS, XX, 201-210.

11. VASOJ (Junagarh) 1933

591

Rudrasiṁha I (MK), 1 ; Rudrasena I (MK), 2 ; Dāmasena (MK), 2 ; Damajadaśrī III (K), 2 ; Vīradāman (K), 4 ; Vijayasena (MK), 8 ; Dāmajadaśri III (MK), 2 ; Rudrasena II, 37 ; Viśvasiṁha, 13 ; Bhartṛidāman, 69 ; Viśvasena, 44 ; Rudrasiṁha II, 10 ; Yasodaman II, 18 ; Rudrasena III, 370 ; Unassigned, 2.

NS. XLVII, 98-99.

P. L. GUPTA

KING-AND-QUEEN-ON-COUCH TYPE COIN OF CHANDRAGUPTA II.

In the last number of this *Journal*[1] Dr. Alteker has published two gold coins of Chandragupta II of a type where king and queen are sitting on a couch. Both these coins now belong to the Bharat Kala Bhavan, the Museum of Art and Archæology, Banaras Hindu University. One of them was purchased by the Museum at Delhi Market. About this Dr. Alteker has expressed his belief that it was the same about which he had heard to have existed in Lucknow.

This note is just to point out that the coin purchased by the Museum at Delhi is not the same, which existed at Lucknow. The Lucknow coin is the third specimen of this very type and is in the collection of Messers Gaya Prasad Shambhoo Nath, a well known coin dealer.

About eight or ten years back I had seen the coin and persuaded the owners to permit me to publish the coin, but was not allowed to have a cast of the coin. However, I have made a reference to this coin in one of my papers, published in this Journal.[2]

P. L. GUPTA.

IDENTIFICATION OF RAṆAHASTIN WITH VATSARĀJA PRATIHARA

In his note on a Silver Coin of Raṇahastin, published in Vol. XVI, pp. 232-3 of this Journal, Dr. H. V. Trivedi mentions the following as the coins of Raṇahastin discovered so far :—

(1) One coin discovered by Cunningham in Rājasthān and described in *CMI* (p. 8. with Plate).

(2) One coin found at Kanauj and mentioned by Prinsep.

(3) One coin obtained by Munirāja Vidyāvijayajī of Shivapurī from somewhere in Saurāshṭra.

(4) Five coins of unknown provenance in the Indian Museum.

Thus in all we know of 8 coins of Raṇahastin, a ruler unknown so far from inscriptions. Considering the find-spots of the coins, may I suggest that they should be ascribed to the Imperial Pratihāra, Vatsarāja 778-788 A. D), who is known from a contemporary work, the *Kuvalayamālā* of Dākṣiṇyāṅka Sūri, to have actually borne the title, *Raṇahastin*[3]. He ruled also over a wide empire indicated by these coins. From Bhoja's

1. Vol. XVIII, p. 51-55.
2. Vol. XI, p. 104.
3. "*Siri-Vachchharāya-ṇāmo RAṆAHATTHĪ patthivo jaiyā*" (*ABORI*, XV II, p. 398),

Gwālior inscription, we learn that Vatsarāja wrested the *Sāmrājya* in battle from the famous Bhaṇḍi clan, hard to overcome by reason of the rampart made of infuriated elephants.[1] The Bhaṇḍis are believed by many scholars to have wielded imperial power probably with their seat of authority at Kanauj;[2] and even if this location of the Bhaṇḍi power be regarded as doubtful, there is evidence enough to prove that Vatsarāja was for some time overlord of the area that comprised Kanauj. The *Pṛthvīrājavijaya* states that Durlabharāja Chāhamāna (a feudatory of Vatsarāja) bathed his sword in the confluence of the Ganges and the sea.[3] From Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions we learn that Vatsarāja "had become intoxicated with the sovereignty of the country of Gauḍa that he had acquired with ease.[4]" These achievements could be possible, if a ruler controlled the whole of Uttar Pradesh and perhaps also some beyond it, even though temporarily.

As regards Rājasthān it was the original kingdom of Vatsarāja. It is from here that we have most of the early Pratihāra inscriptions. It was to Rājasthān that Vatsarāja had to retire after his discomfiture at the hands of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler, Dhruva Dhārāvarṣa ; and that he ruled there even before that defeat is proved by the assertion of Dākṣiṇyāṅka Sūri that Raṇahastin Vatsarāja ruled at, Jālor (Western Rājasthān) at the time of the completion of the *Kuvalayamālā* in S. 700, i. e. 778 A. D., or full five years before the writing of the *Harivaṁśa-Purāṇa* of Jinasena, a verse from which is generally pressed into service to prove that the Pratihāras' original kingdom was not in Rājasthan but in Avanti.[5]

Dr. H. V. Trivedi is not quite sure of Munirāja Vidyavijayaji's coin having actually been secured from Saurāshṭra. We also have nothing to prove that Saurāshṭra was included within Raṇahastin Vatsarāja's dominions. The coin, if found in Saurāshṭra, in fact, could have easily reached there in the ordinary course of financial transactions, for Gurjaratrā, the land of the Pratihāras, was after all not very far away from Saurāshṭra.

The elephant on the obverse in Munirāja Vidyāvijayaji's silver coin, discussed by Dr. Trivedi has oviously been suggested by the ruler's title, *Raṇahastin*, like the *Siṁha*, *Vyāghra*, *Chakra*, etc. of the Gupta, coinage so familiar to us[6].

DASHARATHA SHARMA

1. Verse 8.
2. *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 22.
3. *IHQ*, XIV, p. 844
4. *IA.*, XI, p. 161 and *EI*, VI, pp. 243, 248, verse 8.
5. For further discussion on the question see my paper in *ABORI* XVIII, pp. 396-398.
6. Reference may be made also to the Adi-Varāha coins of Vatsarāja's great-grandson, Mihira-Bhoja, who had the title Adi-Varāha. The reverse of his coins show a boar with a man's head.

A SILVER RUPEE OF FARRUKHSIYAR

In August 1953 a hoard of 28 silver coins was found as treasure trove in village Jurkhanpur hamlet of Aria Bazar, Police Station Tanda, District Faizabad, U. P., and was forwarded to me for scientific examination and disposal as per Treasure Trove Rules framed under Treasure Trove Act. The coins comprised issues of the Mughal Emperors Jahangir (1), Shah Jahan (3), Aurangzeb (10), Shah Alam Bahadur I (4), Jahandar Shah (1), Farrukhsiyar (8) and Muhammad Shah (1). Of these a silver rupee of Farrukhsiyar offers a new type and has, therefore, been acquired for the Coin Cabinet of the State Museum, Lucknow, wherein it is now preserved. It is described as under :—

Register No. 10956

Metal—Silver	Shape—Round	Size—·9″
Weight—180 grs.	Mint—Ilahābād	Date—(1)130-7

Legend—Obverse :

(Za)d az fazl-e-Haq
Sikkah
Bahr-o-bar Farrukhsiyar (1)130
Sha(h)
(bar)seem-o-zar bad

Reverse :

Mubarak
San 7 julus
zarab Ilahabad (Pl. XI, 9)

Couplet : سکه زد از فضل‌حق بر سیم و زر
بادشاه بحر و بر فرخ‌سیر

Translation :

"Struck coin on silver and gold by Grace of the Truth
"Monarch of sea and land, Farrukhsiyar".

The specimen offers a new type in the silver coins of the king issued from Ilahābād mint and remains so far unrepresented in any of the coin cabinets. A specimen bearing the mint town Ilahābād of this king, however, exists in the Punjab Museum, Lahore (P. M. C. 2130), but unlike the coin under review it is in gold and not in silver. The present coin of Farrukhsiyar, therefore, affords a new variety and deserves special attention of the scholars interested in Muslim numismatics.

The remaining coins of the hoard represented common rupees of the above Emperors presenting only such dates as go to fill in gaps in the coin cabinets of various institutions. Accordingly 6 such coins have been acquired for the State

Museum, Lucknow, 4 presented to the National Museum of India, New Delhi, 7 to Indian Museum, Calcutta, 1 to Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, 2 to Hyderabad Museum, 2 to Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, 1 to Central Museum, Nagpur, 1 to Government Museum, Bangalore, and 3 to Deccan-College Post-Graduate Research Institute, Poona.

M. M. NAGAR

NOTES AND NEWS

Mr. C. R Singhal, who is a well known Numismatist of the coins of the Muslim period, has retired from the service of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. Institutions & Individual members who wish to get their coins examined can contact him at his address :

Station Road, Bombay No. 23.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA, AGRA SESSION DECEMBER 1956

By Dr. D. C. Sircar, M. A., Ph. D., Government Epigraphist for India Ootacamund

My friends,

I am extremely thankful to you for your kindness in inviting me for a second time in succession to preside over the annual meeting of the Numismatic Society of India. Since the Society's decision to have a permanent Chairman for guiding its various activities was taken several years back, it has become customary to elect a new President each year only for addressing the annual gathering of members and guiding their deliberations. I have no words to express my gratitude to you for you have elected me in spite of this convention, even though I feel that you have deprived yourselves of the pleasure and benefit of hearing a worthier student of Indian numismatics and of his guidance of your deliberations in the present session.

During this year we received one issue of the journal of the Society about two weeks ago. This is Part I of Volume XVIII which contains an important article on the Kushano-Sassanian Coins by Dr. A. D. H. Bivar of the Ashmolian Museum, Oxford. I am informed that Part II of the said Volume will be published in the near future. It contains an interesting monograph entitled *The Coin-types of the Śaka-Pahlava Kings of India* by Mr. G. K. Jenkins of the Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum, London, and Dr. A. K. Narain of the College of Indology, Hindu University, Banaras. Mr. Jenkins recently published a valuable paper on the Indo-Scythic mints in Part II of Volume XVII of the Society's journal which came out about the end of last year. Dr. Narain informs me that some of the forthcoming issues of the journal will bear articles on the Roman coins discovered in India and Indo-British coinage respectively from the pens of Mr. R. G. Carson and Dr. Kent, both of them belonging to the British Museum, while Mr. Biddulph will contribute a series of articles on South Indian coins to the journal of the Society.

It may also be mentioned in this connection that during this year and the concluding months of last year nearly 400 coins received from ten sources were examined in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India. Some of these were

discovered in the course of excavations conducted by the Department of Archaeology in different parts of the country. Of these coins, the following numbers have been noticed in the *Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy* : 130 in the Report for 1953-54 ; 101 in that for 1954-55, and 166 for 1955-56.

A conference was held in London last July under the auspices of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, for discussing the ideas of history prevalent in Asia and the different trends and approaches in the modern historical writings of Asia. The conference was the first of its kind and was indeed very successful. We very much wish that we could organise such constructive and purposeful seminars and conferences. It is gratifying to note that Indian epigraphy and numismatics received the importance they deserve in the deliberations of the London conference and two Indian scholars were invited to speak on the importance of these subjects in relation to the Study of history and in understanding the ideas of history. Dr. A. K. Narain, who spoke on numismatics, made the following observation on the importance of the role of a numismatist : "For certain periods of history, the historian is also a numismatist ; but the numismatist is always also a historian. In fact, not only do numismatists have to be historians to enable them to carry out their specialised task of classifying coins, but by the classification of coins they make a substantial contribution to the study of history."

I was also invited to attend the said conference in London and it gave me an opportunity to see the collection of Indian coins in such institutions of Europe as the Ashmolian Museum at Oxford, the Fitz William Museum at Cambridge and the Musee Guimet and the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris. All these collections require to be catalogued and published ; but the authorities of the institutions have no plan for publishing the coins in their Indian section. The Numismatic Socity of India may think of deputing some Indian students for this work and the Government of India may be approached for financing the scheme.

I am glad to note that in recent times Indo-Greek coins have attracted considerable attention of some students of Indian numismatics both in Europe and in India. Although the studies in early Indian history and culture is on a general decline in the West, the interest in Indo-Greek coins and connected problems of Indian numismatics are still holding ground. It is well known how in the recent past R. B. Whitehead's valuable articles in the *Numismatic Chronicle* brought to light a wealth of new materials pertaining to the subject and how W. W. Tarn's work entitled *The Greeks in Bactria and India* proved to be the most exhaus-

tive study of the coinage and history of the Greek rulers of the East. A young English student of Indo-Greek coinage, Dr. A.D.H. Bivar of Oxford has also recently published some of the interesting results of his studies in the subject in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1951, and the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XVII (1955).

It is a matter of great satisfaction to us that two young Indians have also recently studied the subject and their works are now under publication. The first of these two works is Dr. A. K. Narain's thesis on the History of the Indo-Greeks, which has earned for the author the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of London. Some time ago, Dr. Narain was kind enough to show me a few pages of his book in proof and I am now told that the book has already been printed off and is expected to be out in the near future.[1] I am also informed that the same author's *Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins* is ready for the press and that its printing will begin early in 1957.

The second book on the subject is the *Coinage and History of the Greek Rulers of Bactria and India* by Mr. A. N. Lahiri, a former pupil of mine and now an Epigraphical Assistant in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India. The first volume of his book, which is an exhaustive objective study of the coinage of the Greeks of Bactria and India, had been shown to me by the author before it was sent to the press. It is divided into three parts, viz. (1) Introduction, (2) Catalogue of Coins, and (3) Appendices.

There is now a necessity for some sort of division of labour and collaboration among scholars for a planned progress in the field of numismatic studies. In this connection we may draw the attention of our younger scholars to a very promising field of specialisation. It is the study of Indo-British coins and medals and the coins of the Native States, which are fast becoming rare objects. There are also other neglected subjects such as the study of early and medieval South Indian currency.

Another fact that is likely to give some impetus to the study of the coins of the Greeks, Scythians, Parthians and Kushāṇas in India deserves mention here. It relates to the wealth of information regarding the recent discoveries of coins in various parts of Afghanistan that was received here during this year.

In 1948 a proposal was received from the Indian embassy in Kabul to send a small body of archaeologists to Afghanistan ; but it was dropped owing to financial considerations. The proposal was, however, renewed in 1951, and the Central Advisory

1. The book is now out.

Board of Archaeology recommended in 1954 that steps should be taken to organise and send an archaeological mission to Afghanistan for exploration and search of sculptures, inscriptions, coins, etc. The Government of India agreed to the scheme in September 1955 and accordingly an archaeological delegation headed by Mr. T. N. Ramachandran of the Department of Archaeology was sent to Afghanistan in May 1956. The delegation stayed in Afghanistan for two months and a half and returned about the end of July 1956. The members of the delegatiou studied the collections of the Kabul Museum and visited numerous sites including Jalalabad, Ghazni, Kandahar, Farah, Herat, Mazar-i-sharif, Haibak, Qunduz, Bamiyan and Begram.

The delegation saw thousands of early and medieval coins in the museums at Kabul, Kandahar, Herat and Mazar-i-sharif as well as in certain collections of antiquities at Shindand, Gulbahar, Bala Hisar and Maimana. All these coins have not yet been examined by experts. Some of the Indo-Greek, Scytho-Parthian and Kushāṇa coins found in Afghanistan and its neighbourhood have been recently noticed in the *Trésors Monétaires d'Afganistan* by Raoul Curiel and Daniel Schlumberger, published in 1953 from Paris as Volume XIV of the *Mémoires de la délégation Archaéologique Françaíse en Afghanistan.* A section of this book deals with the Mir Zakah hoard as well as the coins in the private collections of Mr. S. A. R. Shah Mahmoud Khan and M. Marc le Berre. It also contains brief notices of the coins in the Private collections of M. J. M. Casal, Dr. J Sènècal and M. K. A. Gai.

The Indian archaeological delegation selected, out of the various collections it had an opportunity to examine, hundreds of coins that would interest the students of early Indian history and got them photographed These photographs are now being studied in India.

The coins of the Qunduz, Mir Zakah, Chaman Hazuri and Kotal-i-Khairkhaneh hoards are now preserved in the Kabul Museum. The Qunduz hoard, said to be of 628 silver coins, was discovered in 1948 somewhere between Qunduz and Khanabad. It contains coins of the Attic standard issued by seventeen Greek kings of Bactria and India including those of Lysias, Antialcidas, Theophilus, Archebius, Philoxenus, Amyntas and Hermaeus, which have been noticed in the *Numismatic Circular* for May 1953 and May 1954, *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XVII (1955), and *Journal of the Asiatic Society, Letters*, Vol. XXI (1955).

Over 20,000 coins were found from the bed of a sacred spring called Karez Gai (Sanskrit *Gomukh*) at Mir Zakaḥ, 20 miles

from Gardez and 95 miles to the south of Kabul. According to tradition, the earlier name of the spring, which is now also called Khor-Khotai, was Gaṅgā. The find of such a huge hoard of coins in its bed seems to suggest that they were offerings of pious pilgrims in the holy waters of the spring. 191 copper and 8459 silver coins from Mir Zakah are arranged in three show-cases in the Kabul Museum, the remainder of the coins found there still lying in the store rooms of the Museum. Of the Mir Zakah coins in the show cases, punch-marked (including the long-bar and bent-bar types) and tribal coins alone are about 4500 in number. There are many tribal coins including those of the Taxila and Kauśāmbī types. Amongst the coins of the Indo-Greeks, mention may be made of those of Menander, Lysias, Pantaleon, Philoxenus, Agathocleia (jointly with Strato I) and Strato I. There are also 233 coins of Azes I and Azes II and a large number belonging to Azilises, Gondophares, Abdagases and Soter Megas. The collection contains about 100 copper coins of different kings of the Kushāṅa family.

The coins found at Chaman Hazuri have been noticed by Schlumberger in the section entitled *L'argent Grèc dans l'empire Achemenide* in the joint work of Curiel and himself, referred to above. Out of the 118 silver coins found there, 30 are of the Athenian drachmæ type and 8 are Persian sigloi, while 20 are miscellaneous Greek coins of the sixth century B. C. They also include 12 bent-bar punch-marked coins. The Kotal-i-Khairkahneh hoard of 308 silver coins belong to the early Sassanian rulers. The Moidan hoard of 10 gold coins are Kushano-Sassanian issues.

In the Kandahar Museum, there are 6 gold, 363 silver and 815 copper coins, all of them collected from the neighbouring areas. There are one punch-marked silver coin and a copper coin with the incomplete Brāhmī legend reading *divi*. The collection also includes some coins of Spalapatideva and Sāmantadeva and of Kumārapāla as well as some silver Rāmataṅkās. Many coins of these types have been discovered in India. The coins of Spalapatideva and Sāmantadeva are issues of the Śāhī dynasty of north-western Bhāratavarsha. Kumārapāla, issuer of some of these coins, was supposed by Cunningham to have belonged to the Tomara ruling family of Delhi and Ajmer, although we have no definite evidence in favour of the existence of any Tomara king of that name.

The collection of coins in the Herat Museum, which is housed in the Herat Hotel, consists of 29 gold, 370 silver and 600 copper coins. Most of the early coins belong to the Greek rulers of Bactria and India (including Diodotus, Menander

and others), Scythians, Parthians, Kushāṇas and Sassanians. Some Kushano-Sassanian gold coins of the collection bear the name of Vāsudeva. A few of the gold coins belong to the Kalachuri king Gāṅgēyadeva Vikramāditya who flourished in the first half of the eleventh century. There are also a few silver Gadhaiyā coins and 75 copper coins bearing the representation of a crouching animal with a long tail on both obverse and reverse but without any legend.

The Museum at Mazar-i-sharif, 389 miles north-west of Kabul and about 12 miles from Balkh, has a collection of 4083 coins. Of these, 88 are of gold, 2000 of silver and 1995 of copper. As many as 374 Kushāṅa coins of the collection are reported to have been found at Balkh. There are coins of the Greek rulers of Bactria and India as well as of the Scythians, Parthians, Kushāṇas and Sassanians. The collection includes some coins bearing the name of Vāsudeva and others that of Varahran I. A few gold coins of Kalachuri Gāṅgēyadeva and of Gāhaḍavāla Govindachandra (who flourished in the twelfth century A.D.) as well as some issues of Spalapatideva and Sāmantadeva belong to the collection. There are also some silver coins of Rājā Gīrvāṇa-yuddhavikrama of Nepal.

A number of coins (including some Sassanian issues) are in the private collection of the Governor of Maimana, while the coin collection housed in the Government Hotel at Shindand on the road between Farah and Herat contains some Parthian issues. Among the antiquities housed in the Nashir Library at Bala Hisar, there is a Rāmaṭaṅkā and a number of Kushāṅa coins. Some antiquities have been collected at Gulbahar from the neighbourhood of the town. These are housed in a local factory and contain a number of coins including one copper issue bearing the representation of a horseman and probably the name of Spalapatideva.

We hope that the photographs of the many hundreds of coins, which the Indian archæological delegation to Afghanistan has brought to the country, when they are fully studied, will throw welcome light on some aspects of Indian numismatics, especially the coins of the Indo-Greeks, Scythians, Parthians and Kushāṅas. The Numismatic Society of India should also think of deputing a few of our younger students of numismatics to Afghanistan for the preparation of a catalogue of the coins in the various Government and private collections in that country.

During the year, reports of the discovery of numerous hoards of coins have been received from various sources including the Treasure Trove officers of the different States. A word may be said here in regard to the working of the Treasure

Trove Act. Coins acquired by the State Governments under this Act are distributed amongst various museums and institutions in different parts of India. This no doubt gives an opportunity to a student of numismatics to study the coins prevalent in different ages and different parts of the country in a museum in his own area without undergoing the trouble of visiting the museums in the different States. But the difficulty is that this distribution of hoards is often done without a proper examination of their composition. Thus, if five hundred coins of a hoard are scattered among twentyfive institutions in various parts of India, it becomes extremely difficult for one to form an idea about the nature and contents of the hoard, which are often of very great importance to the student of the subject. The Numismatic Society of India may therefore consider the question whether it is desirable to preserve the hoards of coins discovered in a particular State intact in the principal Museum of that State and, in case it favours the idea, whether it should approach the Government of India for a revision of the Treasure Trove Act. If, however, the present policy of distributing the coins of a hoard is preferred, it will have to be seen that the State Museums do not scatter the hoards without keeping a careful and complete record of them. Such a record should contain all necessary information regarding the weight, size, shape and metal contents of each coin. Indeed it will be proper if a fully equipped Numismatic Section of the National Museum of India undertakes this work of examination and disbursement of the Treasure Trove coins. The Society should also consider whether the organisation of its branches in the different States as well as in the Districts of the States may be undertaken for the popularisation of the collection and study of coins in the country. Such an attempt is likely to increase the people's interest in ancient and medieval coins.

Out of the numerous hoards of coins discovered during the year throughout the country, three deserve prominent mention owing to the huge number of coins in each one of them. The first of these is a large hoard of Kushāṇa coins discovered at Bhuteswar near Mathura in U. P. It includes the issues of Wema Kadphises, Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva. The coins of this hoard weigh no less than one maund, two seers and three chhatacks. But one of the largest hoards of coins ever discovered in India was found at Chhapra in the Saran District of Bihar.

While digging the lawn of the palace of the Rājā of Hathwa at Chhapra. 9,40,000 silver coins weighing 9,23,179 tolas (i. e. 257 maunds, 9 seers, and 59 tolas) were discovered. They were found in 52 brass and copper jars. As reported to the press by

the District Magistrate of Saran, the coins bear the names of Shāh 'Alam II and of Queen Victoria and came from the mints of the English East India Company at the Fort William (Calcutta), Banaras, Furruckabad and Murshidabad. The maximum and minimnm numbers of coins in a jar were 94,000 and 11,000 respectively. I do not know where these coins are now and whether they have been properly studied. Such a huge number of coins is likely to yield, if closely studied, valuable information regarding the weight-standard and fabric and specially the mint-marks of the East India Company's coinage, regarding which our knowledge is still insufficient. They may also throw light on the Company's mints in Calcutta, Bombay Madras. The coins appear to have been hidden during the days of the Indian Mutiny about the middle of the nineteenth century. In that case, those with the names of Queen Victoria are expected to be the issues of 1840 and to belong to two classes, viz. one with a larger and the other with a smaller flan.

The third of the large hoards was discovered at Dhotra in the Amraoti District of Madhya Pradesh (now Bombay). It contained copper coins of the Bahmanīs of Gulbarga. The weight of the hoard is stated to be about sixteen seers.

In this connection, I would also like to bring the discovery of another smaller hoard of coins to your notice. A few months back a news item appeared in the Madras papers regarding the discovery of about 50 silver coins of the Western Satraps from a locality in the Guntur District of ;the Andhra State. The coins were said to be in the custody of the District Magistrate of Guntur. It was also reported that they yielded the name of a new king besides a few other known rulers. Unfortunately my attempt to secure the coins on loan for examination was a failure and I do not know the fate of the hoard. The find of these coins far away from the dominions of the Śakas of Western India is very interesting and their examination may throw some light on the history of the period in question.

Besides the newly discovered hoards of coins noticed above, information regarding the discovery of the following hoards has also been received during the year from numerous other localities in different parts of the country :

(1) eight copper coins belonging to the Tughluqs and Mughals of Delhi and the Sultāns of Gujarat from Jhaloregarh in the Mehsana District of Bombay; (2) one silver coin of A. H. 1109 belonging to Aurangazīb and six silver coins of Sulṭān Mahmūd Shāh of Gujarat from Khadiarpara in the Kaira District of the same State; (3) 20 gold coins from Walve in the Satara District of the same State; (4) six silver coins of

the later Mughals and 4 copper coins from the city of Ahmedabad in the same State; (5) 37 Mughal coins from Paidipalli in the Warangal District of Hyderabad (now Andhra); (6) 4 copper coins of the Mughals and 28 coins of the Quṭbshāhīs from Janagama in the Nalgolnga District of the same State (now Andhra); (7) 12 gold coins of the Sulṭāns of Delhi and 279 coins of Aurangzīb from a locality in the Guna District of Madhya Bharat (now Madhya Pradesh); (8) 14 silver coins of the Mughals from Gummi in the Buldana District of the same State (now Bombay); (9) 15 silver coins of the Mughals and 685 copper coins of the Bahmanīs from Borakhedi in the same District; (10) a hoard of silver coins of the later Mughals from Chhindwara in the same State; (11) 114 silver coins of the Mughals from Barela in the Chhindwara District of the same State; (12) 41 silver coins of the Mughals from a locality in the Saugor District of the same State; (13) 109 coins of Kalachuri Gāṅgeyadeva from Barela in the Jabalpur District of the same State; (14) 118 Indo-British coins of silver, (15) Svāmi-Pagodas of gold belonging to the East-India Company and 1 silver half-rupee of Balarāmavarman of Travancore from different localities in the old Madras State; (15) 10 gold coins of Kaṇṭhīrava Narasarāja Woḍaiyar of Mysore from Thippur in the Mandya District of Mysore; (16) 2 coins of the Sulṭāns of Malwa, viz. 1 gold issue of Ghiyāṣuddin Khaljī dated A. H. 880 and 1 copper cion of Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn Mahmūd Shāh bearing legend in Devanāgarī, from Chitorgarh in Rajasthan; (17) 9 Gadhaiyā coins from Badoli in the Chitorgarh District of the same State; (18) 166 coins including tribal, punch-marked and Kshatrapa issues from Nagari in the same District; (19) 61 silver coins of the Mughals from Jodhpur in the same State; (20) 1 coin of the Tughluq dynasty from Gagraun in the Jhalawar District of the same State; (21) 44 copper coins including 1 of Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn Muḥammad Shāh of Delhi and 15, 23 and 1 respectively of three Sulṭāns of Gujarat, viz. Ahmad Shāh II, Mahmud Shāh and Muzaffar Shāh II, from Talaja in the Gohilwad District of Saurashtra (now Bombay); (22) 2 copper coins from Pindara in the same State (now Bombay); (23) 2 coins of the Kshatrapas (one of silver and the other of copper) from Naisra in the same State (now Bombay); (24) 61 gold coins and a large number of silver issues from Porbandar in the same State (now Bombay); (25) 35 gold Rāśipaṇams from Puttady Thavalam in the Devicholam Taluk of Travancore (now Madras); 26 8 and 20 silver coins respectively of Shāh Jahān and Aurangzīb from Bhedauha in the Basti District of U. P.; and (27) 110 silver coins of the East India Company from Bagadiha in the same District.

Friends, I am grateful to you for the patient hearing with which you have been so kind to favour me.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA HELD AT AGRA ON THE 25TH AND 26TH DECEMBER 1956.

The annual meeting of the Numismatic Society of India was held at Agra on the 25th and 26th December. The business meeting of the Society was held on the 25th under the chairmanship of Dr. A. S. Altekar. Following were present :—

(1) Dr. D. C. Sirkar, President.
(2) Dr. A. S. Altekar, Chairman.
(3) Dr. Moti Chandra, Secretary.
(4) Shri C. R. Singhal, Treasurer.
(5) Shri M. M. Nagar.
(6) Shri C. C. Dasgupta.
(7) Shri P. L. Gupta.

The following resolutions were passed at the meeting.

(1) It was resolved that the office of the Society be shifted to Banaras Hindu University and be located at the College of Indology till the Society's building gets ready.

(2) Resolved that the necessary expenditure for shifting the office from the Prince of Wales Museum to the Hindu University be incurred and that Messrs C. R. Singhal and P. L. Gupta and Dr. Motichandra be requested to do the needful.

(3) Resolved that the grateful thanks of the Society be conveyed to the Trustees of the P. W. Museum, Bombay, for housing the office and the stock of the Numismatic Society in their building for the last twenty years.

(4) Resolved that the Secretary or the Chairman be authorised to receive Ramdulari Collection at present with the Trustees of the Prince of Wales Museum and be authorised to pass the receipt.

(5) It was resolved that the coins donated by the late Mrs. Ramdulari Dubey be shifted from the Prince of Wales Museum to the strong room of the Kala Bhawan, and that Rai Krishna Das be thanked for his kind offer to keep them in the strong room of the Bharat Kala Bhawan.

(6) Resolved that the Managing Committee for 1957 be constituted as under :

Shri C. R. Singhal : President.
Dr. A. S. Altekar : Chairman for three years.

Dr. J. N. Banerjee : Vice-Chairman for one year.
Dr. A. K. Narain : Secretary for one year.
Mr. V. S. Pathak : Hon. Treasurer for one year.

Members of the Managing Committee.

Dr. D. C. Sirkar.
Dr. J. N. Unwala
Mr. A. N. Lahiri
Mr. M. M. Nagar
Dr. C. C. Das Gupta
Dr. H. V. Trivedi

7. Resolved that the State Bank of India be and are hereby appointed bankers to the Numismatic Society of India.

That all cheques on the banking account be signed and bills notes, and other negotiable instruments be drawn, accepted and made on behalf of the Numismatic Society of India by the Chairman, the Secretary, and the Treasurer or any two or more of them.

That cheques, bills and notes and other negotiable instrument payable to the Numismatic Society of India may be endorsed for the Numismatic Society of India by any one or more of the three above office bearers.

That a copy of resolution signed by the Chairman be handed to the Bank together with the necessary signature.

(8) Resolved that the present practice of holding part time clerk for the Secretary and the Treasurer and the Editor be discontinued and that a full time clerk-cum-accountant be appointed at Banaras for the Society :

(i) to do the office work of the Society.

(ii) to do the clerical work in connection with the Journal.

(iii) and to keep account.

The clerk should in the first instance, be appointed on a consolidated Salary of Rs. 100/- (Rupees Hundred only) for a period of two years; later on a suitable grade may be offered to him.

(9) Resolved that the Secretary may appoint a part time peon at Banaras for the office who may be paid upto Rs. 8/- (eight only) p.m.

(10) It was resolved that the Chairman and the Secretary be empowered to appoint a chartered accountant to auditt he account of the Society.

(11) Resolved that the thanks of the Society be conveyed to the Principal of the College of Indology for agreeing to make the necessary arrangements for the accommodation of the stock of the books and for providing space for the office and clerk of the Society till the building is completed.

(12) Resolved that a sum of Rs. 500/- (Rupees Five Hundred) be authorised to be spent for furniture for the Banaras Office of the Society.

(13) That the accounts of the Society upto 1956, as audited by the Auditors be passed.

(14) that the subscription for an individual member in India will be Rs. 8/- (Rupees eight only) per year and for the Institution it will be Rs. 12/- (Rupees twelve only) per year from 1957.

(15) It was resolved that the main principles of the plan of the proposed building be approved and that the expenditures for the ground floor should not exceed Rs. 30,000/- (Rupees Thirty thousands only)

(16) It was resolved that an appeal should be made to each member of the Society to contribute liberally to the Building fund.

(17) It was resolved that the thanks of the Society be conveyed to the Govt. of U. P. for its liberal grant to the Building fund.

(18) It was resolved that the thanks of the Society be conveyed to the Govt. of Bihar for its grant to the Building Fund.

(19) It was resolved that the 2nd Volume of the corpus series should be upon the Indo-Greeks and that Dr. A. K. Narain should be entrusted with its preparation. He should submit a detailed estimate about the expenditure for this volume in due course.

(20) It was resolved that the honorarium for the corpus volumes should be Rs. 10/- (Rupees ten only) per page of the Royal Octavo size. 25 per cent of the Honorarium will be paid on the acceptance of the MS.; 25% on publication and the balance within two years thereafter.

(21) It was resolved that out of the 10% commission accruing to the Society on the sales of the Bayana hoard, 5% should be devoted to defraying the office expenses.

On the 26th Dec. the general meeting of the Society was

held in the staff room of Agra College under the Presidentship of Dr. D. C. Sircar. Following members were present :—

(1) D. C. Sircar.
(2) Moti Chandra.
(3) M. M. Nagar.
(4) S. S. Patwardhan.
(5) Parmeshwari Lal Gupta.
(6) Charu Chandra Das Gupta.
(7) S. C. Upadhyaya Bombay.
(8) H. V. Trivedi, Gwalior.
(9) A. V. Pandya.
(10) S. C. Kala.
(11) J. M. Unwala.
(12) Bal Chandra Jain.
(13) A. K. Narain.
(14) Bishun Narain Kapoor.
(15) C. R. Singhal
(16) Dr. A. S. Altekar.
(17) Satya Prakash.
(18) K. D. Bajpai.
(19) B. N. Mishra.
(20) Dr. Rama Rao.

After the Presidential address was over, which is published elsewhere the following papers were read :—

(1) Dr. A. S. Altekar : "Some problems connected with the Azes, Azilises coins."

(2) Dr. Rama Rao : Notes on some Satavahan "coins."

(3) Dr. H. V. Trivedi : "Some Nagar coins."

Shri P. L. Gupta showed a photograph of a large size silver coin of Eucratides, which in his opinion was a genuine coin. But Dr. J. M. Unwala, Dr. J. N. Banerjee and A. K. Narain were not agreeable to his openion.

A coin of Hari Gupta was also shown by Shri P. L. Gupta.

The resolutions passed by the business meeting on the earlier day were confirmed in the general meeting.

TO SUBSCRIBERS

With the publication of this issue, Volume XVIII is completed. It is regretted that the preparation and printing of this number for 1956 has taken more than the time expected. The inconvenience to our readers and subscribers on this account is regretted. We wish, however, to assure them that the two numbers of the Society's Journal that are due as parts of Volume XIX for the year 1957 will be published within this year and will be in their hand before December. In the forthcoming numbers it is proposed to include a substantial monograph setting forth the important evidence of the numerous clay sealings found during the Rajghat excavations in 1940. This will be in fulfilment of our promise given earlier to include the material of seals within the scope of our inquiry. We hereby solicit that material about the finds of clay seals and sealings from many a site that has been hitherto lying unnoticed in the various museum collections should be properly examined and sent to us for publication. It will be very much appreciated if museum officials will very kindly communicate with us in this respect so that the publication of their material can be planned ahead. The editors will be pleased to assist, if such assistance were needed, in reorganising the relevant material for publication.

V. S. AGRAWALA

NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

Balance Sheet as at

FUND & LIABILITIES.	Rs. A. P.	Rs A. P.
Special Publication Fund :—		
Balance as per last Balance Sheet. ...	...	5,361 6 3
Building Fund :—		
Balance as per last Balance Sheet. ...	2,225 12 0	
Add :—Donations during the year. ...	94 7 0	2,320 3 0
Subscriptions Received in Advance :—		
For 1956–57 ...	123 13 0	
For 1957–58 ...	38 10 0	
For 1958–59 ...	1 0 0	163 7 9
Grants Received in Advance :		
From Madhya Pradesh Government for 1956-57 ...	300 0 0	
From Punjab Government for 1956-57 ...	300 0 0	600 0 0
Suspense Account :—		44 4 0
(Excess of Amounts from Spink & Sons., London.)		
General Fund :—		
Balance as per last Balance Sheet ...	12,723 6 8	
Less :—Excess of Expenditure over Income during the year ...	2,435 14 9	10,287 7 11
		18,776 12 11

We have examined the annexed Balance Sheet as at 30th November 1956 and the annexed Income and Expenditure Account for the year ended upon that date of the Numismatic Society of India with books and vouchers and beg to report that :—

Gold, Silver and Brass medals and Coins donated by Late Smt. Ramdulary Dube by her will and received from the Bank of India Limited and Mr. Bodhraj Tamran, Executors of the will, have not been brought into accounts. The coins have been verified by us.

Subject to above remark.

We have obtained all the information and explanations we have required.

In our opinion, the annexed Balance Sheet exhibits a true and correct view of the state of affairs of the Society according to the best of the information and explanations given to us and as shown by the books of the Society.

As per our annexed report of even date. DINUBHAI & CO.
Bombay, dated 20th December 1956. *Chartered Accountants.*

OF INDIA.

30th November 1956.

ASSETS.		Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
Medal (Dies) Account.			720 8 0
Furniture (At cost)		164 11 0	
Additions during the year ...		402 3 0	
		566 14 0	
Less Depreciation written off:			
During the previous years	10 0 0		
During this year	35 0 0	45 0 0	521 14 0
Liabrary (At cost)			138 14 6
Investments (At cost):—			
National Savings Certificates:			
Two certificates of Rs. 1000/- each maturing on 1st April 1958.		2,000 0 0	
Three certificates of Rs. 1000/- each maturing on 25th April 1959.		3,000 0 0	
One certificate of Rs. 1000/- maturing on 2nd July 1958.		1,000 0 0	
Four certificates of Rs. 1000/- each maturing on 28th Feb. 1960.		4,000 0 0	10,000 0 0
Cash & Bank Balances:—			
In current account with Bank of India Ltd.		3,955 0 10	
In Savings account with Allahabad Bank Ltd.		3,222 8 1	
Cash on hand (As per Cash Book).		117 15 6	
With Editor for Petty Expenses.		100 0 0	7,395 8 5
			18,776 12 11

NUMISMETIC SOCIETY

Income and Expenditure Account for the

EXPENDITURE		Rs. P. A
To Printing & Stationery ...		5,527 14 6
,, Office Expenses of Chairman ...		110 0 0
,, Office Expenses of Editor ...		1,465 8 0
,, Office Expenses of Treasurer ...		686 0 0
,, Contribution charges ...		718 14 0
,, Chakra Vikram Medals ...		314 2 0
,, Postage and Telegrams ...		410 5 3
,, Bank Charges ...		15 2 0
,, Sundry Expenses ...		290 6 9
Depreciation Written off :—		
Furniture 6% ...		35 0 0
		9,573 11 6

Bombay, dated 20th December 1956. DINUBHAI & CO.,
Chartered Accountants

OF INDIA

year ending 20th November 1956.

INCOME	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.
By Sale of publications ...		2,258 15 0
,, Subscription ...		1,696 0 9
,, Interest on Bank Account...		77 5 0
,, Advertisement ...		20 0 0
,, Commission on Gupta Catalogue ...		385 8 0
,, *Government Grants* :—		
Bombay Government for 1955-56	300 0 0	
Bihar Government for 1955-56	300 0 0	
West Bengal Government for 1955-56	300 0 0	
Uttar Pradesh Government for 1955-56	500 0 0	
Madras Government for 1955-56	300 0 0	
Government of India for 1955-56	1,000 0 0	2,700 0 0
Excess of Expenditure over Income transferred to General Fund account. ...		2,435 14 9
		9,573 11 6

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K. C. JARIA

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50, AMINABAD PARK,
LUCKNOW.
(INDIA.)

NUMISMATIC NOTES & MONOGRAPHS

NO. 4

THE COIN-TYPES OF THE ŚAKA-PAHLAVA KINGS OF INDIA

NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS

No. 4

THE
COIN-TYPES OF THE SAKA-PAHLAVA KINGS OF INDIA

By

G. K. JENKINS, B.A. (OXON)

Assistant Keeper of Coins & Medals, British Museum, London.

&

A. K. NARAIN, M.A., Ph.D. (LONDON)

Reader in Ancient Indian History, Culture & Archæology, Banaras Hindu University.

THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA

HINDU UNIVERSITY,

VARANASI-5.

1957

Price Rs. 3/-

'NUMISMATIC NOTES AND MONOGRAPHS' series of the Numismatic Society of India will generally appear as supplement in the Journal of the Numismatic Society of India, devoted to bibliographies, coin-lists, inventories, indices and specialised essays, and other useful handy material relating to Indian coins, medals, seals and allied subjects.

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V. S. Agrawala, M. A., PH. D., D. Litt.

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PART II.

ŚAKA-PAHLAVA KINGS OF MATHURA, WESTERN INDIA, HYDERABAD &c.

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We have here attempted to list the coin-types of all the kings and the satraps of the Śaka and Pahlava dynasties in India who ruled from the 1st century B. C. to 4th century A.D. For the first time the entire series of the Śaka-Pahlava coinage are arranged in one place. Morphologically they form one group and in our opinion they should be studied together.

This is not the place to discuss any specific view as to the nationality of individual rulers ; but it may be observed that we have excluded from the first part of this list a number of rulers–Soter Megas, Heraus (Miaos), Hyrcodes, Sapaleizes, Phseigacharis, Tanlis Snaidates—sometimes included in the same category, but who seem rather to belong in the general context of the Kushāṇa rather than with the Śaka-Pahlava.

No attempt has been made to assign dates to individual rulers in the first part of the list. In the second part, however, we have listed the *known* dates of kings *from their coins* in an appendix at the end, but again no attempt has been made to assign dates to those kings whose coins do not bear dates.

In general, we have followed the pattern of the *NNM.* No. 1 of the Numismatic Society of India, but we have added a new column in the first part to indicate the size and shape in the case of copper coins and the denomination in that of the silver issues. This additional column was not found necessary for the second part.

In the first part of the list, coins are cited by preference from *PMC*, next by *BMC* or simply as 'BM' (British Museum) if not in *BMC.* Similarly, in the second part we have preferred to cite *BMC. A.I.* and *BMC. AWK.* or simply as BM if not in *B.M.C.* Where a type appears in none of these sources other sources are cited as necessary.

We do not claim this to be an exhaustive list and we shall thankfully receive new information.

G. K. JENKINS
A. K. NARAIN

ABBREVIATIONS.

BM.	British Museum.
BMC.	*A Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, Greek and Scythic kings of Bactria,* London, 1880.
BMC. AI.	*A Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, Coins of Ancient India,* London, 1936.
BMC. AWK.	*A Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, Coins of the Andhra dynastg, the Western Kshatrapas, the Traikutaka dynasty and the "Bodhi" dynasty.*, London, 1908.
CS.	Cunningham, *Coins of the Indo-Scythian, Saka and Kushanas ?* (Reprinted from NC. 1888, 1890 and 1892. [Plate numbers cited are those which appear at the bottom of each plate.]
IMC.	*A Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, including the cabinet of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* Vol. I. Oxford, 1906.
JASB.	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Calcutta.
JNSI.	Journal of the Numismatic Society of India, Varanasi.
Markoff.	*Unpublished Arsacid Coins,* St. Petersberg, 1892.
Mir Zakah.	Curiel and Schlumberger, *Trésors monetaires d'Afghanistan,* Paris, 1953.
NC.	*Numismatic Chronicle.*
Num. Suppl	*JASB Numismatic Supplement.*
PMC.	*Catalogue of the coins in the Punjab Museum,* Lahore, Vol. I.
Tax.	Marshall, *Taxila,* 2 vols. Cambridge, 1950.

SIGNS & DENOMINATIONS

Silver : T = Tetradrachm
D = Drachm
Sqs D = Square drachm

Bronze : S 1 = Square, large (c. 1″)
S 2 = Square, medium (c. $\frac{3}{4}$″)
S 3 = Square, small (c. $\frac{1}{2}$″)
R 1 = Round, large (c. 1″)
R 2 = Round, medium (c. $\frac{3}{4}$″)
R 3 = Round, small (c. $\frac{1}{2}$″)

[N. B. the measurements given are only very approximate]

PART I.

THE ŚAKA-PAHLAVA KINGS OF THE PUNJAB AND THE NORTH-WEST.

MAUES

Legends. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΑΥΟΥ (a)
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΜΑΥΟΥ (b)
Maharajasa Moasa (c)
Rajadirajasa mahatasa Moasa (d)

Silver

1.	Obv.	Zeus standing l.	(b)	T	PMC. X. 1
	Rev.	Nike standing r.	(d)		
2.	Obv.	same.	(b)	D	PMC. X. 3
	Rev.	same.	(d)		
3.	Obv.	City goddess enthroned r.	(b)	D	PMC. X. 4
	Rev.	Zeus Nikephoros, standing l.	(d)		
4.	Obv.	Two-horse chariot, in which Helios and charioteer. (Note: Cunningham says "King radiate", but cf. the type of Plato, NNM. I p. 12)	(b)	T	PMC. XV. 1
	Rev.	Zeus enthroned l.	(d)		
5.	Obv.	same.	(b)	D	CS. II. 2
	Rev.	same.	(d)		
6.	Obv.	same.	(b)	SqD	CS. II. 3
	Rev.	same.	(d)		

Bronze

7.	Obv.	Elephant's head r.	...	R1	PMC. X. 5
	Rev.	Caduceus.	(a)		
8.	Obv.	Horse standing r.	(a)	S2	PMC. X. 35
	Rev.	Bow and quiver.	(c)		
9.	Obv.	Herakles standing, with club & lion-skin.	(b)	R1	BMC. XVI. 5
	Rev.	Lion walking r.	(d)		
10.	Obv.	Artemis standing, radiate.	(b)	R1	PMC. X. 10
	Rev.	Humped bull l.	(d)		
11.	Obv.	King on horse, r. whip above shoulder, couched spear.	(b)	S2	PMC. X. 27
	Rev.	Nike standing l.	(d)		

12.	Obv.	Poseidon standing with r. foot on river-god, trident in l. hand, thunderbolt in r., small figure in r. field.	(b)	S2	CS. III. 23
	Rev.	Yakshī between vines	(d)		
13.	Obv.	Similar to 12 but aphlaston in l. hand instead of trident	(b)	S2	BMC. XVII. 2
	Rev.	same as 12.	(d)		
14.	Obv.	Poseidon with foot on river-god, r. arm on knee, trident in l.	(b)	S1	PMC. X. 20
	Rev.	same as 12.	(d)		
15.	Obv.	Poseidon standing l. with r, foot on river-god, r. arm extended, trident in l.	(b)	S2	CS. III. 25
	Rev.	same as 12.	(d)		
16.	Obv.	same.		S3	CS. III. 26
	Rev.	same.			
17.	Obv.	King standing holding ankus.	(b)	S1	PMC. XV. ii
	Rev.	Aegis.	(d)		
18.	Obv.	Elephant r., bead-and-reel border.	(b)	S2	PMC. X. 31
	Rev.	King seated cross-legged			
19.	Obv.	Elephant r.	(b)	S2	PMC. X. 32
	Rev.	Humped bull r.	(d)		
20.	Obv.	Apollo standing, with bow and arrow.	(b)	S2	BM.
	Rev.	Tripod.	(d)		
21.	Obv.	same.	(a)	S3	PMC. X. 18
	Rev.	same.	(c)		
22.	Obv.	Lunar goddess standing, flanked by stars.	(b)	S2	PMC. X. 13
	Rev.	Nike standing l.	(d)		BMC. XVI. 8
23.	Obv.	Zeus enthroned l., small radiate figure in l. field.	(b)	S2	PMC. X. 15
	Rev.	City-goddess standing.			
24.	Obv.	Zeus standing l.	(b)	S2	PMC. X. 16

	Rev.	Male deity with pointed cap, standing. (d)		
25.	Obv.	King on horse r. whip above shoulder, spear in r. (b)	R1	BMC. XVI. 3
	Rev.	Goddess standing with turretted crown, lamp in r., wheel at side. (d)		
26.	Obv.	King on horse r., but ankus in r. (b)	S2	BMC. XVI. 6
	Rev.	Female deity with spear & shield, r. (d)		
27.	Obv.	Male deity (Śiva?) with club & trident l. (b)	S1	PMC. X. 25
	Rev.	Female deity r. holding out fillet. (d)		
28.	Obv.	Zeus enthroned l., Nike in r. hand, in front forepart of elephant. (b)	S1	BMC. p.70,no.14

VONONES WITH SPALAHORA

Legends. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΟΝΩΝΟΥ (a)
Maharajabhrata dhramikasa Spalahorasa (b)

Silver

1.	Obv.	King on horse r. holding spear. (a)	T	BMC. XXI. 7
	Rev.	Zeus standing with thunderbolt in r. and sceptre in l. (b)		
2.	Obv.	same. (a)	D	PMC. XIV. 374
	Rev.	same. (b)		

Bronze

3.	Obv.	Herakles standing with lion-skin and club in l., crowning himself with r. (a)	S2	PMC. XIV. 379
	Rev.	Pallas standing l. (b)		

VONONES WITH SPALAGADAMA

Legends. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΟΝΩΝΟΥ (a)
Spalahoraputrasa dhramiasa Spalagadamasa (b)

Silver

1. Obv. King on horse r. holding spear. (a) T CS. IV. 4
Rev. Zeus standing r. with thunderbolt and sceptre. (b)

2. Obv. same. (a) D PMC. XIV. 382
Rev. same. (b)

Bronze

3. Obv. Herakles standing. (a) S2 PMC. XIV. 385
Rev. Pallas standing r. (b)

SPALYRIS WITH SPALAGADAMA

Legends. ⊏ΠΑΛΥΡΙ□⊏ ΔΙΚΑΙ□Υ ΑΔΕΛΦ□Υ
Τ□Υ ΒΑ⊏ΙΛΕШ⊏ (a)
Spalahoraputrasa dhramiasa Spalagadamasa (b)

Bronze

1. Obv. King on horse r. holding spear. (a) S2
Rev. Herakles seated l. on rock. (b) PMC. XIV. 386

SPALIRISES[1]

Legends. ΒΑ⊏ΙΛΕШ⊏ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ ⊏ΠΑΛΙΡΙ⊏ΟΥ (a)
ΒΑ⊏ΙΛΕШ⊏ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ⊏ΠΑΛΙΡΙ⊏□Υ (b)
ΒΑ⊏ΙΛΕШ⊏ΒΑ⊏ΙΛΕШ⊏ΜΕΓΑΛ□Υ
⊏ΠΑΛΙΡΙ⊏□Υ (c)
Maharajabhrata dhramiasa Śpaliriśasa (d)
Maharajasa mahatakasa Śpaliriśasa (e)

Silver

1. Obv. King on horse r. holding spear. (a) T
Rev. Zeus standing r. with thunderbolt and sceptre. (d) Shortt

---

1 Spalirises : Ghirshman (*Begram*, p. 88) attributes to this ruler a coin found at Begram which appears to be no more than a very barbarous Parthian type drachm, the legend being entirely corrupt and unintelligible It has the 'helmeted head' countermark as *BMC. Parthia* p. 114,

2.	Obv.	same.	(a)	D	
	Rev.	same.	(d)		PMC. XIV. 394
3.	Obv.	same.	(b)	D	
	Rev.	same.	(e)		CS. IV. 9

Bronze

4.	Obv.	King walking l. holding ankus in r., whip over shoulder, bow at side.	(c)	S2	
	Rev.	Zeus enthroned.	(e)		PMC. XIV. 397

SPALIRISES WITH AZES

Legends. BA⊏IΛEШ⊏ MEΓAΛOY ⊏ΠAΛIPI⊏OY (a)
Maharajasa mahatakasa Ayasa (b)

Silver

1.	Obv.	King on horse r. holding spear.	(a)	T	CS. IV. 11
	Rev.	Zeus standing r. with thunderbolt and sceptre.	(b)		
2.	Obv.	same.	(a)	D	PMC. XIV. 395
	Rev.	same.	(b)		

Bronze

3.	Obv.	King on horse r. whip over shoulder, holding out ankus (?).	(a)	R1	PMC. XIV. 396
	Rev.	Bow and arrow.	(b)		CS. IV. 13

AZES I

Legends. BAΣIΛEΩΣ BAΣIΛEΩN MEΓAΛOY AZOY (a)
BAΣIΛEΩΣ BAΣIΛEΩN MEΓAΛ□Y AZ□Y (b)
BA⊏IΛEΩ⊏BA⊏ IΛEΩN MEΓAΛOY AZOY (c)
BAΣIΛEΩ⊏ BAΣIΛEΩN MEΓAΛ□Y AZ□Y (d)
Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa (e)
Maharajasa rajadirajasa mahatasa Ayasa (f)

Silver

1.	Obv.	Zeus standing l., transverse sceptre.	(a)	T	NC. 1923 XVII. 12

	Rev.	Nike standing r.	(e)		
2.	Obv.	same.	(a)	D	PMC. XI. 187
	Rev.	same.	(e)		
3.	Obv.	King on horse r. holding spear.	(b)	T	PMC. XI. 36
	Rev.	Zeus standing 1,r. arm extended, with transverse sceptre in l.	(e)		
4.	Obv.	King on horse r. holding spear.	(a)	T	CS. V. 1
	Rev.	Nike standing facing	(e)		
5.	Obv.	King on horse r. holding spear.	(a)	T	JNSI.XVII.Pt.II,III.8
	Rev.	Zeus Nikephoros standing l.	(f)		
6.	Obv.	King on horse r. holding spear.	(b)	T	PMC. XI. 38
	Rev.	Zeus standing facing, thunderbolt in r., transverse sceptre.	(e)		
7.	Obv.	same.	(a)	D	BMC. XVII. 11
	Rev.	same.	(e)		
8.	Obv.	same.	(d)	D	BM.
	Rev.	same.	(e)		
9.	Obv.	King on horse r. holding spear.	(b)	T	PMC. XI. 46
	Rev.	Zeus standing facing, thunderbolt in r., upright sceptre.	(e)		
10.	Obv.	same.	(a)	D	PMC. XI. 47
	Rev.	same.	(e)		
11.	Obv.	King on horse r. holding spear.	(b)	T	PMC. XI. 127
	Rev.	Pallas standing l. thunderbolt in r., shield on l. arm.	(e)		
12.	Obv.	same.	(a)	D	PMC. XI. 141
	Rev.	same.	(e)		
13.	Obv.	King on horse r. holding spear.	(c)	T	BMC. XVII. 9

	Rev.	Zeus standing facing, thunderbolt in r., upright sceptre.	(e)		
14.	Obv.	same.	(a)	D	BMC. XVII. 10
	Rev.	same.	(e)		
15.	Obv.	King on horse r. holding spear.	(a)	T	BMC. XI. 179
	Rev.	Goddess standing 1., palm in 1., lamp in r.	(e)		
16.	Tbv.	same.	(a)	D	BMC. XVIII. 10
	Rev.	same.	(e)		

Bronze

17.	Obv.	Poseidon standing r. with foot on river-god, r. hand on knee, trident in 1.	(a)	S1	BMC. XIX. 10
	Rev.	Yakshī between vines	(e)		
18.	Obv.	Male deity (Śiva?) moving 1. with club in r. and trident in 1.	(a)	S2	TAX. pl.239, 127-8
19.	Obv.	King on horse r. holding spear.	(b)	S1	PMC. XIII. 292
	Rev.	Humped bull r.			
20.	Obv.	same.		S2	BM.
	Rev.	same.			
21.	Obv.	same.		S3	BM.
	Rev.	same.			
22.	Obv.	same.	(a)	R1	PMC. XIII. 304
	Rev.	same.			
23.	Obv.	King on camel r. holding ankus.	(c)	S1	BMC. XIX. 9
	Rev.	Humped bull r. with lowered head.	(e)		
24.	Obv.	King on horse r. holding spear.	(a)	S2	PMC. XIII. 255
	Rev.	Herakles seated 1. on rock.	(e)		

25.	Obv.	Male figure standing with r. arm extended, palm in l.	(a)	S2	CS. VIII. 5
	Rev.	Humped bull r.	(e)		
26.	Obv.	same.	(a)	S2	Cast in BM.
	Rev.	Humped bull l.	(e)		
27.	Obv.	Hephaistos standing facing.	(a)	S2	CS. VI. 7
	Rev.	Lion r.	(e)		(CS. VIII. 9 is also Azes, not Azilises)
28.	Obv.	King on horse r. holding spear.	(a)	S2	PMC. XII. 256
	Rev.	Herakles standing crowning himself.	(e)		

AZES I WITH AZILISES

Legends. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΟΥ (a)
Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayilishasa (b)

Silver

1.	Obv.	King on horse r. holding spear.	(a)	T	PMC. XIII. 319
	Rev.	Goddess standing l. with palm and lamp.	(b)		

AZILISES

Legends. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΙΛΙΣΟΥ (a)
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΙΛΙ⊏ΟΥ (b)
ΒΑ⊏ΙΛΕΩ⊏ ΒΑ⊏ΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΙΛΙ⊏ΟΥ (c)
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛ□Υ ΑΖΙΛΙΣ□Υ (d)
Maharajasa rajadirajasa mahatasa Ayilishasa (e)
Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayilishasa (f)
Maharajasa mahatasa Ayilishasa (g)

Silver

1.	Obv.	King on horse r. holding whip.	(a)	T	PMC. XIII. 334
	Rev.	City goddess standing, Zeus standing.	(e)		
2.	Obv.	same.	(a)	D	PMC. XIII. 335
	Rev.	same.	(e)		

3.	Obv.	King on horse r. holding whip.	(a)	T	PMC. XIII. 320
	Rev.	Zeus standing r..	(e)		
4.	Obv.	same.	(a)	D	PMC. XIII. 322
	Rev.	same.	(e)		
5.	Obv.	King on horse r. holding whip.	(a)	T	PMC. XIII. 332
	Rev.	Laksmi on lotus between elephants on lotus leaves.	(e)		
6.	Obv.	same.	(a)	D	PMC. XIII. 333
	Rev.	same.	(e)		
7.	Obv.	Zeus Nikephoros standing l.	(a)	T	PMC. XIII. 323
	Rev.	Dioscuri on horseback r.	(e)		
8.	Obv.	same.	(a)	D	PMC. XIII. 324
	Rev.	same.	(e)		
9.	Obv.	Zeus enthroned r. holding Nike.	(a)	T	PMC. XIII. 325
	Rev.	Dioscuri on horseback r.	(e)		
10.	Obv.	same.	(a)	D	PMC. XIII. 326
11.	Obv.	King on horse r. holding whip.	(a)	T	PMC. XIII. 327
	Rev.	Dioscuri standing holding spears.			
12.	Obv.	same.	(a)	D	PMC. XIII. 328
	Rev.	same.	(e)		
13.	Obv.	King on horse r. holding whip.	(a)	T	PMC. XIII. 329
	Rev.	One of the Dioscuri standing.	(e)		
14.	Obv.	same..	(a)	D	PMC. XIII. 330
	Rev.	same.	(e)		
15.	Obv.	King on horse r. holding whip.	(a)	D	PMC. XIII. 336
	Rev.	City goddess armed, standing holding wreath and palm.	(e)		
16.	Obv.	King on horse r. holding spear.	(b)	T	PMC. XIII. 339

	Rev.	Goddess standing l. with lamp and palm.	(f)		BMC. XX. 9
17.	Obv.	same.	(b)	D	BMC. XX. 11
	Rev.	same.	(f)		
18.	Obv.	same.	(a)	T	BM.
	Rev.	same.	(f)		
19.	Obv.	same.	(d)	T	BMC. XX. 10
	Rev.	same.	(f)		
20.	Obv.	same.	(a)	D	PMC. XIII. 347
	Rev.	same.	(f)		
21.	Obv.	King on horse r. holding spear.	(b)	T	MIR ZAKAH. p. 87-8
	Rev.	Goddess standing l. holding wreath (instead of lamp) and palm.	(f)		
22.	Obv.	same.	(b)	D	MIR ZAKAH. p. 11–15
	Rev.	same.	(f)		
23.	Obv.	King on horse r. holding spear.	(d)	T	PMC. XIII. 331
	Rev.	Pallas standing r., l. with thunderbolt and shield extended.	(f)		
24.	Obv.	same.	(a)	D	BM.
	Rev.	same.	(f)		

Bronze

25.	Obv.	King standing r. armed.	(a)	S2	PMC. XIV. 336
	Rev.	Deity standing r. holding out wreath.	(e)		
26.	Obv.	Male deity (Śiva?) holding club and Nike, standing r.	(a)	S2	BM.
	Rev.	Goddess standing r. with lamp.	(e)		
27.	Obv.	same.		S3	CS. VIII. 7
	Rev.	same.			
28.	Obv.	City goddess enthroned r.	(a)	S2	TAX. pl. 240,165
	Rev.	Male deity as no. 26 but standing l.	(e)		
29.	Obv.	Elephant r.	(a)	S1	CS. VIII. 4
	Rev.	Bull r.	(e)		

30.	Obv.	Elephant 1.	(a)	S1 PMC. XIV. 363
	Rev.	Bull 1.	(e)	
31.	Obv.	Hephaistos standing facing.	(a)	S1 PMC. XIV. 369
	Rev.	Lion r.	(e)	
32.	Obv.	Herakles standing facing.	(a)	S2 PMC. XIV. 357
	Rev.	Horse r.	(e)	CS. VIII.10
33.	Obv.	same.	(a)	S3 BM.
	Rev.	same.	(e)	
34.	Obv.	Male figure standing holding wreath and whip.	(?)	S2 JASB. 1835 XXI. 7
	Rev.	Lion r.	(?)	
35.	Obv.	Indra on elephant facing, flanked by other elephants	(a)	S2 BM. (ex Haughton, White king. IV. 299)
	Rev.	Goddess standing 1. holding lamp and palm.	(e)	
36.	Obv.	same.	(a)	S3 TAX. pl. 240,163
	Rev.	same.	(e)	
37.	Obv.	King on horse r. (without spear)	(c)	S2 PMC. XIV. 353
	Rev.	Herakles seated 1. on rock.	(g)	BMC. XXI.
38.	Obv.	King on horse r.	(c)	S2 PMC. XIV. 362
	Rev.	Elephant r.	(g)	BMC. XXI. 2
39.	Obv.	King on horse r. holding spear.	(c)	S3 NC. 1950 XII. 15
	Rev.	Humped bull r.	(f)	
40.	Obv.	King on horse r. holding spear.	(c)	S1 JNSI. XVII Pt. II, I. 6
	Rev.	Bull 1. (without exergue line).	(f)	
41.	Obv.	same.	(c)	S1 BM.
	Rev.	Bull r. (without exergue line).	(f)	
42.	Obv.	King on horse r. holding spear.	(a)	S2 BMC. XXI. 3
	Rev.	Bull r. (with exergue line.)	(f)	
43.	Obv.	same.	(a)	S2 PMC. XIV. 358
	Rev.	Bull 1.	(f)	
44.	Obv.	same.	(d)	S2 BMC. p. 95,28-9
	Rev.	same.	(f)	

AZILISES WITH AZES

Legends	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛ□Υ ΑΖΙΛΙΣ□Υ	(a)
	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΙΛΙΣΟΥ	(b)
	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ...ΜΗΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΛΙΣΟΥ	(c)
	Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa	(d)

Silver

1.	Obv.	King on horse r. holding spear.	(a)	T	CS. VII. A. 2
	Rev.	Pallas l. with thunderbolt and shield.	(d)		
2.	Obv.	King on horse r. holding whip.	(c)	D	BMC. XX. 3
	Rev.	Zeus Nikephoros standing l.	(d)		

Bronze

3.	Obv.	Herakles standing holding up wreath in r.	(b)	S2	BMC XXI. 5
	Rev.	Horse r.	(d)		(Joint issue, not Azilises only as stated there.)

AZES II

Legends	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΟΥ	(a)
	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛ□Υ ΑΖ□Υ	(b)
	Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa	(c)
	Maharajasa rajadirajasa mahatasa Ayasa	(d)
	Maharajasa mahatasa dhramiasa rajadirajasa Ayasa	(e)

Silver

1.	Obv.	King on horse r. holding whip.	(a)	T	PMC. XI. 56
	Rev.	Zeus Nikephoros standing l.	(c)		BMC. XVII. 12
2.	Obv.	same.	(a)	D	PMC. XI. 122
	Rev.	same. (Note : 1 and 2 are usually of base silver, and the Greek legend corrupt.)	(c)		BMC. XVII. 13
3.	Obv.	King on horse r. holding whip.	(b)	T	PMC. XI. 177
	Rev.	Poseidon standing r. with trident-tipped sceptre.	(c)		BMC. XVIII. 1

4.	Obv.	same.		D	BM.
	Rev.	same.			
5.	Obv.	King on horse r. holding whip.	(b)	T	PMC. XI. 145
	Rev.	Pallas standing l., r. arm extended, shield on l. shoulder.	(c)		
6.	Obv.	same.	(a)	D	PMC. XI. 148
	Rev.	same.	(c)		
7.	Obv.	King on horse holding whip.	(b)	T	
	Rev.	Pallas standing facing, crowning herself with the r., shield on 1. Shoulder, transverse spear.	(c)		BMC. XVIII. 4
8.	Obv.	same.	(a)	D	PMC. XI. 172
	Rev.	same.	(c)		
9.	Obv.	King on horse r. holding whip,	(b)	T	
	Rev.	Pallas standing r., r. arm extended, shield on 1. shoulder, transverse spear.	(c)		PMC. XI. 157 BMC. XVIII. 8
10.	Obv.	same.	(b)	D	PMC. XI. 158
	Rev.	same.	(c)		
11.	Obv.	King on horse r. holding whip.	(b)	T	CS. V. 13
	Rev.	Pallas r. as no. 9 but r. arm at side.	(c)		
12.	Obv.	same.	(b)	D	PMC. XI. 166
	Rev.	same.	(c)		
13.	Obv.	King on horse r. holding whip.	(?)	T	PMC. XII. 317
	Rev.	Pallas standing r. as no. 9 (very base and late issue).	(d)		
14.	Obv.	King on horse r. holding whip ; in front Kadaphes symbol.	(?)	T	BMC. XX. 1
	Rev.	City goddes standing 1. with cornucopiae (late base issue probably of the Kushan period) cf. no. 35 below).	(e)		

Bronze

15.	Obv.	King on horse r. holding whip.	(b)	S2	Num.Suppl.XIV, Pl. 34, 15
	Rev.	Zeus Nikephoros l.	(c)		
16.	Obv.	King on horse r. holding whip.	(b)	S2	JASB. 1897, Pl. I. 2
	Rev.	Pallas standing facing.	(c)		
17.	Obv.	King seated l. on cushions, in r. ankus, sword across body.	(a)	R1	BM. (cf IMC p. 48, 76)
	Rev.	Pallas standing facing.	(c)		
18.	Obv.	King seated on cushions, as no. 17.	(a)	R1	PMC. XI. 195
	Rev.	Hermes standing l.	(c)		
19.	Obv.	same.	(a)	R2	BM.
	Rev.	same.	(c)		
20.	Obv.	same.	(a)	R3	BM.
	Rev.	same.	(c)		
21.	Obv.	same.		S3	NC. 1947, II. 9
	Rev.	same.			
22.	Obv.	City goddess enthroned l.	(b)	R1	PMC. XI. 217
	Rev.	Hermes standing l.	(c)		
23.	Obv.	Elephant r.	(b)	R1	BMC. XIX. 7
	Rev.	Bull r.	(c)		
24.	Obv.	same.	(b)	R2	PMC. XII. 288
	Rev.	same.	(c)		
25.	Obv.	same.	(b)	R3	BM.
	Rev.	same.	(c)		
26.	Obv.	same (but ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ-ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΟΥ)		S3	BMC. XIX. 12
	Rev.	same (but *Maharajasa mahatasa Ayasa*)			
27.	Obv.	Laksmī standing with flower in r.	(b)	R1	PMC. XII. 308
	Rev.	Bull r.	(c)		
28.	Obv.	Bull r.	(b)	R1	PMC. XII. 263
	Rev.	Lion r.	(c)		
29.	Obv.	same.	(b)	R2	PMC.p.127,279f. (and BM.)
	Rev.	same.	(c)		

30. Obv. same. (b) R3 BM.
Rev. same. (c)

31. Obv. same. (b) S2 BM.
Rev. same. (c)

32. Obv. Lion r. (a) S3 BMC. 190
Rev. Bull r. (c)

33. Obv. Lion r. (?) S2 PMC. XII. 222
Rev. City-goddess standing l. (c) BMC. XIX 4.

34. Obv. Hermes standing l. (a) S2 PMC. XII. 218
Rev. City-goddess standing l. (c) BMC. XIX. 3

35. Obv. King on horse r. holding whip ; in front Kadaphes symbol. (?) S2 IMC. IX. 3
Rev. Lion r. (...... *Ayasa*) (late issue, perhaps early Kushāna, cf. no. 14 above)

ORTHAGNES

Legends. BACIΛΕΥC BACIΛΕωΝ ΜΕΓΑC ΟΡΘΑΓΝΗC (a)
BACIΛΕΥC BACIΛΕωΝ ΜΕΓΑC ΟΡΘΑΓΝ (b)
[BACIΛΕωC BACIΛΕωΝ] ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΟΡΘΑΓΝ [HC] (c)
BA⊏IΛΕΥ⊏ BA⊏IΛΕШΝ ΜΕΓΑ⊏ □Ρ⊟ΑΓΝ (d)
BA⊏IΛΕΥ⊏ BA⊏IΛΕωΝ ΜΕΓΑ⊏ □Ρ□ΑΓ [...] (e)
Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa Gudapharasa Gadana (f)
do. but *Gada* (g)
do. but *Gadanasa* (h)
Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa Gadranasa (i)

Silver

1. Obv. Bust of king in Parthian tiara, l. (no leg.) D BM. (NC. 1950 p. 225)
Rev. King enthroned r.; behind, female figure (Tyche ?) crowning him. (e)

(Note : the uncertain part of the legend has been interpreted by A. Simonetta in *Numismatica* 1953/4 (Rome) p. 14, as a date in the Parthian era of 247 B.C., viz. "Lous 233"–16 B.C. This cannot be regarded as certain : see also below, Abdagases no. 1)

Bronze

2.	Obv.	Bust of king l. diademed.	(a)	R1	BM.
	Rev.	Nike r. holding wreath.	(f)		
3.	Obv.	same.	(a)	R1	PMC. XVI. 72.
	Rev.	same.	(g)		
4.	Obv.	same.	(a)	R1	BM.
	Rev.	same.	(h)		
5.	Obv.	same.	(b)	R1	BM.
	Rev.	same.	(h)		
6.	Obv.	same.	(c)	R1	BM. (cf. PMC.
	Rev.	same.	(i)		p. 156, 75)
7.	Obv.	same.	(d)	R1	BM.
	Rev.	same.	(f)		

GONDOPHARES

Legends. ΒΑΣΙΛΕωΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕωΝ [ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ] ΙΝΔΥΦ
(Є) Ρ ΡΟΥ (a)

ΒΑ⊏ΙΛΕΩ⊏ ⊏ΩΤΗΡ □⊏ ΥΝΔ□ΦΕΡ Ρ□Υ (b)

ΒΑCΙΛЄωC ΒΑCΙΛЄωΝ ΜΓЄ ΑΛΟΥ
ΥΝΔΟΦЄ ΡΡΟΥ (c)

ΒΑ⊏ΙΛΕШΝ ΒΑ⊏ΙΛΕШ И Γ□ИΔ□[|]ΛΓ□Υ
(Sic) (d)

ΒΑ⊏ΙΛΕ□⊏ ΒΑ⊏ΙΛΕШΝ ΜΕΓΑΛ□Υ
Γ□ΝΔ□[|]ΑΡ□Υ (e)

ΒΑ⊏ΙΛΕω⊏ ΒΑ⊏ΙΛΕωΝ ΜΕΓΑ⊏
ΥΝΔ□ + ΕΡΗ⊏ ΑΥΤ□ΚΡΑΤ□ (f)

(Obv.) ΒΑCΙΛЄωC ΒΑ[CΙ] (Rev.) ΛЄωΝ
ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΥΝΔΟΦЄΟΥ (g)

ΒΑ⊏ΙΛΕШ⊏ ΒΑ⊏ΙΛΕШΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ
ΥИΔΟΦЄ ΡΟΥ (h)

Maharajasa Gadana nisadasa hinasa vanidasa javati
devavrata (i)

Maharajasa Gudapharnasa tratarasa (j)

Maharajasa rajarajasa tratarasa devavratasa
Gudapharasa (k)

Maharaja rajatiraja tratara devavrata Gudupharasa (l)

Maharaja rajaraja mahata dhramia devavrata
Gudupharasa (m)

Maharajasa mahatasa Gudupharasa (n)

Maharajasa rajarajasa dhramikasa apratihatasa
devavratasa Gudupharas[a] (o)

Silver

1.	Obv.	Bust of king. l. diademed (no leg.)		D	Berlin. (BMC. XXXII. 10)
	Rev.	King enthroned r. : behind female figure crowning him	(f)		Leningrad. (Markoff, pl. IV 25)

(Note: Leningrad specimen has VNΔO + EPH and AVT□K-PAT)

Base silver

2.	Obv.	King on horse r., r. hand raised, Nike flying behind	(c)	T	PMC. XV. 43
	Rev.	Śiva standing facing, trident in r. and palm in l.	(k)		
3.	Obv.	King on horse r. (without Nike)	(b)	T	PMC. XV. 46
	Rev.	Śiva standing facing	(m)		
4.	Obv.	King on horse r.	(c)	T	PMC. XV. 38
	Rev.	Pallas standing r.	(k)		BMC. XXII 6
5.	Obv.	King on horse r.		T	Shortt
	Rev.	Pallas r.			
6.	Obv.	King on horse r.	(c)	T	PMC. XV. 1
	Rev.	Zeus (Poseidon?) standing r.	(l)		
7.	Obv.	Head of king r.	(?)	D	PMC. XV. 39
	Rev.	Pallas standing l.	(n)		

Bronze

8	Obv.	Bust of king l. diademed.	(a)	R1	PMC. XN. 59
	Rev.	Nike standing r.	(i)		NC.1950,XII.13
9.	Obv.	Bust of king r.	(b)	R1	CS. X. 4
	Rev.	Nike standing r.	(j)	R2	BMC. XXII. 11
10.	Obv.	King enthroned l.	(g)	R2	BMC. XXII. 10
	Rev.	Nike r. (Note : The legend is continuous from obv. to rev.)			
11.	Obv.	King enthroned r.		R2	CS. X. 11
	Rev.	Zeus Nikephoros l.			
12.	Obv.	King on horse l., on l. female figure holding wreath.	(e)	S2	PMC. XV. 60

Rev. Gondophares symbol (o)
(Note : the legends as given above are a combination of several very fragmentary readings, the order of words also being variable)

13. Obv. Apollo standing — R2 Num. Suppl.
Rev. Gondophares symbol XIV. pl.XXXIV
(illegible Kh. leg:) 11

Footnote : there is a coin described by Ghirshman (*Begram* p. 93) as perhaps of Guda, a ruler mentioned on the reverse of coins of Orthagnes and of one type of Gondophares. But it is difficult to believe that the coin in question is actually anything but an ordinary issue of Gondophares of type 9 ; the piece happens to be double struck, having turned over in between the strikings. This purely technical accident, not uncommonly met with elsewhere in ancient coins, is also to be observed in the case of some pieces of Azilises from the Mir Zakah hoard (see Curiel and Schlumberger p. 88, nos. 16-17).

ABDAGASES

Legends. BACIΛЄωC CωTHPOC ABΔAΓACOY (a)
BACIΛЄVC (Sic) CωTHPOC [ABΔAΓACOY] (b)
BA⊏IΛEШ⊏ ⊏ШTH [P□⊏ ABΔAΓ] A⊏□Y (c)
BA⊏IΛEV AΠA VNΔIφЄPO AΔEΛφIΔEШ⊏ (d)
BACIΛЄOC ΓONΔOφAPABPA...... (e)
BA⊏IΛEV□NT□⊏ BA⊏IΛEШN ABΔ-
AΓA⊏□Y (f)
(corrupt version of f) (g)
BA⊏IΛEω⊏ BA⊏IΛEωN MEΓAΛ□Y ABΔ- (h)
AΓA⊏□Y EΠI+ANOV⊏ ΔIKAI□Y
Tratarasa maharajasa Avadagasasa (i)
Gadapharabhratraputrasa maharajasa tratarasa Avadagasasa (j)
Gadapharabhratraputrasa maharajasa Avadagasasa (k)
Maharajasa rajadirajasa Gadapharabhratraputrasa Avadagasasa (l)
Gadapharabhratraputrasa maharajasa tratarasa dhramiasa Avadagasasa (m)

Silver

1. Obv. Bust of king l. diademed
(Behind in Pahlavik letters
AV) D

	Rev.	King as archer seated r. (Note: a date in the Parthian era of 247 B.C. has been read on this coin by A. Simonetta in *Numismatica* 1953/4 (Rome) p. 14, but it seems clear that the letters which he takes for EΠΣ viz. 285=37 A.D.—are in fact the beginning of the fifth word of the legend)	(h)	Formerly Petrowicz, Naville sale XII(Geneva 1926), 2586.

Base silver

2.	Obv.	King on horse r.	(d)	T CS. XI.5
	Rev.	Zeus standing r.	(j)	
3.	Obv.	same	(e)	T BMC. p. 108, 15
	Rev.	same	(k)	
4.	Obv.	same	(f)	T BMC. p. 108, 13-14
	Rev.	same	(j)	
5.	Obv.	same	(f)	T PMC. XV. 61
	Rev.	same	(k)	
6.	Obv.	King on horse l.	(g)	T BMC. p. 108, 10-12
	Rev.	Zeus standing r.	(k?)	T
7.	Obv.	same	(g)	T CS. XI. 5
	Rev.	same	(j)	
8.	Obv.	same	(g)	T BMC. p. 107, 5
	Rev.	same	(k)	
9.	Obv.	King on horse l.	(g)	T PMC. XV. 54
	Rev.	Zeus Nikephoros l.	(l)	
10.	Obv.	King on horse r.	(d)	T NC. 1947, II. 6
	Rbv.	Zeus standing r.	(m)	

Bronze

11.	Obv.	Bust of king diademed r.	(a)	Rl PMC. XV. 70
	Rev.	Nike r.	(i)	
12.	Obv.	same	(b)	R BMC. p. 107, 4
	Rev,	same	(i)	
13.	Obv.	Bust of king l.	(c)	Rl CS. XI. 4
	Rev.	Nike l.	(i)	

SASAN

Legends.	BACIΛЄ VONTOC BACIΛЄ ωN CACOY	(a)
	(corrupt Greek legend)	(b)
	Maharajasa rajatirajasa devavratasa Gudapharasa Sasasa	(c)
	Maharajasa.........yasa apratihatachakrasa devavratasa Sasasa	(d)
	Maharajasa mahatasa tratarasa Sasasa	(e)
	Maharajasa Aspabhataputrasa tratarasa Sasasa	(f)

Silver

1.	Obv.	Bust of king in Parthian tiara 1.	(b)	D	TAX. pl. 241, 201—8
	Rev.	Nike 1.	(f)		

Base silver or bronze

2.	Obv.	King on horse r.	(a)	T	PMC. XV. 20
	Rev.	Zeus Nikephoros 1. (Note : for the reading of the Greek legend see Whitehead, NC. 1950 p. 221)	(c)		BMC. XXII. 13
3.	Obv.	same		D	PMC. XV. 34
	Rev.	same			
4.	Obv.	King on horse r.	(b)	T	PMC. XV. 19
	Rev.	Zeus standing r.	(c)		
5.	Obv.	same	(a)	? D	BM.
	Rev.	same	(e)		
6.	Obv.	King on horse 1.	(b)	T	NC. 1950 XII.12
	Rev.	Zeus standing r.	(d)		

PAKORES

Legends.	BACIΛЄYC BACIΛЄωN MЄΓAC ΠAKOPHC	(a)
	Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa Pakurasa	(b)

Bronze

1.	Obv.	Bust of king 1., diademed and wearing torque.	(a)	RI	PMC. XVI. 76
	Rev.	Nike standing r. (Note : sometimes overstruck on coins of Soter Megas, see *Numismatica* 1953/4, Rome; p. 13 fig. 2)	(b)		

SANABARES

Legends.	(long legend in Pahlavik script)	(a)
	BAΣIΛEVΣ MEΓAΣ ΣANABAΓ	(b)[1]
	BAΣIΛEVΣ ΣANABAPHΣ	(c)

Silver

1.	Obv.	Bust of king in Parthian tiara.	(a)	D	Markoff. IV. 28
	Rev.	King as archer seated r.	(b)		
2.	Obv.	same (but only two Pahlavik letters, probably SA, first letters of king's name).		D	PMC. XVII. i, also formerly Petrowicz, Naville sale XII (Geneva, 1926) 2583–4.
	Rev.	same. (Note : further letters which may stand for a date are found above and to the left on the reverses)	(b)		

Bronze

3.	Obv.	Bust of king in Parthian tiara (BAΣIΛEY...)		RI	PMC. XVII. ii
	Rev.	Nike r. (...ΣANABAΓΟY)			
4.	Obv.	Head diademned l.		R3	BMC. p.[no. 2
	Rev.	King seated r. as archer	(c)		

ARSAKES

(Note : Under this heading are given two groups of coins, very probably issued by two distinct rulers. Of the first group only type no 3 actually bears the name of Arsakes, though it is hard to be sure that no. 4 might not also have it if the legend were complete. Nos. 1 and 2, though lacking any legend, are tentatively placed here by general analogy with the bronze coins. The whole of the first group is associated by provenance with the area of the Kabul valley and Arachosia : for the silver, see Cunningham, *NC.* 1889 p. 301 ff. and the Mir Zakah hoard. A specimen of the bronze no. 3 in the BM is from Kandahar.

The second group is of Taxilan type, virtually indistinguishable from the common Taxila issue of Azes II (as I think, rather than Abdagases, the analogy suggested by Whitehead in *NC.* 1940, p. 119). I feel that this group almost certainly represents a different ruler, as it seems unlikely that the coins of the first

1. also ΣANAIBAΓ (Naville Sale XII, 2583).

group could be as late, in their district, as the date implied by the Taxilan issue.)

First group

Legends: APCAKOY BACIΛEωC ΘEOY (a)
BAΣIΛEΩΣ AΔEΛΦOY ΦIΛ...... (b)

Silver

1. Obv. Horse r. D PMC. XVII. V.
Rev. Arrow, in wreath. CS-. I. 12
2. Obv. Horse r. looking back, arrow. SqD NC.1950,XII.4
Rev. Nike r.

Bronze

3. Obv. Horse r. (a) S2 NC.1940, VIII. 7
Rev. Bow and bow-case.
4. Obv. same. (b) S2 BM.
Rev. same.

Second group

Legends: BAΣIΛEVONTOΣ BAΣIΛEΩN
ΔIKAIOY APΣAKOY (a)
BACIΛEVONTOC BACIΛEωN
ΔIKAIOY APCAKOY (b)
Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Arshakasa tradatasa (c)

Base silver

5. Obv. King on horse r. holding whip. (a) T CS. XI. 12
Rev. Zeus Nikephoros l. (c)
6. Obv. same. (b) T CS. XI. 11
Rev. same. (c)

SAPEDANES

Legends: (corrupt Greek legend) (a)
Rajarajasa tratarasa dhramiasa Sapedanasa (b)

Silver

1. Obv. Bust of king l. in Parthian tiara. (a) D TAX. pl. 241,211-216
Rev. Nike r. (b)

Bronze

2. Obv. Bust of king l. diademed (...ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΣΟΡΠΗΔΟΝΟΥ — RI BM, unpublished
Rev. Nike r. (......*tratara*......)

(Note: this coin has not, so far as can be traced, been described before. It may be attributed to the same ruler as the silver drachms, no. 1, found at Taxila with similar pieces of Sasan, Satavastra and Kadphises I or II, *Taxila* p. 815 ff. In general appearance the bronze coin is similar to those of Orthagnes.)

SATAVASTRA

Legends. (corrupt Greek legend) (a)
Satavastrasa maharajasa...... (b)

1. Obv. Bust of king l. in Parthian tiara. (a) D TAX. pl. 241, 217-221.
Rev. Nike r. (b)

INDRVARMA

Legends.
(Quite illegible Greek legend) (a)
Vijayamitraputrasa Itravarmasa apracarajasa (b)

Bronze (base silver ?)

1. Obv. King on horse r. (a) T CS. XII. 7-8
Rev. Pallas r. (b)
2. Obv. same. (a) D TAX.pl.241,185-8
Rev. same.

ASPAVARMA

Legends. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛ□Υ ΑΖ□Υ (a)
(corrupt Greek legend) (b)
Itravarmaputrasa Aspavarmasa strategasa jayatasa (c)
Jayatasa tratarasa Indravarmaputrasa strategasa Aspavarmasa (d)

Bronze (base silver types)

1. Obv. King on horse r. (a) T BMC. XX. 2
Rev. Pallas r. (c)
2. Obv. King on horse l. (b) T PMC. XV. 35
Rev. Zeus standing r. (d)

KHARAHOSTES

Legends. ΧΑΡΑΜꟷ ⊏ΤΕΙ ⊏ΑΤΡΑΠΕΙ ΑΡΤΑΥ□Υ (a)
(sometimes with variant endings)
Chhatrapasa pra Kharaostasa Artasa putrasa (b)

Bronze

1. Obv. King on horse r. holding spear. (a) S2 PMC. XVI. 91
Rev. Lion r. (b)
(for the readings see Rapson, *JRAS*. 1905 p. 792 ff.)

2. Obv. King on horse l. holding whip. (a?) S3 BM.
Rev. Hermes (?) standing l. (b)

3. Obv. King on horse r. holding whip. (a?) S3 PMC. p. 159,93
Rev. same. (b?)

ZEIONISES

Legends. [M]ΑΝΝΙΙΛΙ ΥΙΙΥ CΑΤΡΑΠΙΥ ΖЄΙωΝΙ⊏ΟΥ (a)
(reading probably intended for that given in PMC 82-3, ΜΑΝΝΟΛΟΥ ΥΙΟΥ etc. but with much variation and often blundered)
Manigulasa chhatrapasa putrasa chhatrapasa Jihuniasa (b)
Manigulaputrasa chhatrapasa Jihuniasa (c)

Base silver

1. Obv. King on horse r. holding whip. (a) T BMC.XXXII.11
Rev. King standing crowned by two figures. (b)

2. Obv. same. (a) T PMC. XVI. 82
Rev. King standing being crowned by City-goddess. (b)

Bronze

3. Obv. Bull r. (a) R1
Rev. Lion r. (c)

4. Obv. Elephant r. CS XII. 5
Rev. Bull r.

5.	Obv.	Bull r. (...CAT...)	S3	BM.
	Rev.	Lion 1. (...chhatrapa...)		

UNCERTAIN

Silver

1.	Obv.	Bust of king l. Similar to Pakores (letter A behind head).	D	BM. also in Yakunshikov, *Ancient Greek Coins*, p. 42, 108, and pl. IX (St. Petersburg, 1908)
	Rev.	King as archer seated r. (corrupt Greek legend e.g. Λ⊏ Λ⊏ Λ –BANNEΓA□L ⫪⊔]ΠN...□YAPI□...□-BA□I)		
2.	Obv.	King on horse r. holding whip. (BAΣIΛEV□NT□Σ......)	D	BM(unpublished ?)
	Rev.	Zeus Nikephoros l. (. . *maharajasa* . .) (note : possibly of Abdagases)		
3.	Obv.	King on horse l. (no legend)	small	TAX. pl. 241, 209a-c.
	Rev.	Goddess standing facing. (no legend)		

Bronze

4.	Obv.	Bust of king in tiara (legend in Pahlavik script (?) perhaps ending ...MLKA)	Rl	Num.Suppl. XIV, pl. xxxiv. 21
	Rev.	Nike r. (Kharosthi legend: *Maharajasa tratarasa*...... ? *paharasa*)		
5.	Obv.	Bust of king diademed (pahlavik ? legend as on no. 4)	Rl	BM
	Rev.	Nike r. (Kharosthi legend as no. 4)		
6.	Obv.	Horse r. (CATPAΠOY MEΓAΛOY)	Rl	PMC XVI. 138
	Rev.	Herakles standing (*chhatrapasa mahatasa dhramikasa*)		

Addendum: LIAKA KUSULAKA

To this satrap, mentioned in the Taxila copper-plate inscription of year 78 (*CII.* no. xiii) Cunningham assigned a small silver coin whose type is copied from an obol of Eucratides (*CS.* I. 8, 9). The reading of the legend as given by Cunningham depends partly on restoration: only OKO OZOYΛO can actually be read on the coin. The first name is thus less than certain. Such an imitation of an Eucratides obol seems more likely, on the face of it, to have originated in Bactria or at least in the Kabul valley than the region of Taxila (where no specimen has in fact been found, though the provenance of Cunningham's piece is not recorded). It seems best to regard the attribution as for the present, unproven.

PART II.

I. ŚAKA KINGS OF MATHURA

Symbols :

A B C D E F

HAGĀMASHA

Legends :

(Br.) *Khatapasa Haqāmashasa* (a)

(Br.) *Khatapa[sa] [Ha] gasama* (b)[1]

Copper

1. Obv. Lakshmī standing facing, holding a flower in uplifted r. hand ; Symbols A below, B on l., and C on r. (a)

   Rev. Horse l. BMC. AI. XXVI. 1–2

2. Obv. Symbol C in the centre, A below, and B on r. (b)

   Rev. As on 1. JNSI. VIII. Pl. II. C, 5.

HAGĀMASHA WITH HAGĀNA

Legend :

(Br.) *Khatapasa Hagānasa Hagāmashasa* (a)

Copper

1. Obv. Symbol A in vertical position on r. and some indistinct symbols on top and below. (a)

   Rev. Horse to l. BMC. AI. XXVI. 6.

RĀJUVULA (RAÑJUBULA, RĀJULA)

Legends :

(Gk.) BACIΛΣΩC BACIΛΣωN CωTHPOC PAIY...... (a)

(Br.) *Mahākhatapasa Rājuvulasa* (b)

(Kh.) *Apratihatachakrasa Chhatrapasa Rajuvulasa* (c)

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1. The reversing of letters *sa* and *ma* is perhaps due to the oversight of the engraver. Note also *sa* instead of *sha*.

(Kh.) *Mahakhatapasa apratichakrasa Rajulasa* (d)

(Kh.) [Mahachha or Chha]trapasa Rajalasa apra[tichakrasa] (e)

(Kh.) Chhatrap...Rajuvula (f)

Kh. Letters :

a, ga, ha etc. are found either above or in groups on the coins of Rājuvula.[1]

Silver

2. Obv. Bust of king r. (a)
Rev. Pallas l., holding in l. hand aegis and hurling thunderbolt by r. (c) BMC. AI. XXVI. 7

Copper

3. Obv. As on 1 but rude.
Rev. As on 1 but rude and symbols ų and *Π*. R. BMC. AI. Nos. 110-12

1. Obv. King on Horseback to r.
Rev. Zeus Nikephoros, with sceptre, on r. field. Kh. letters *gha* and *sa.*, in l. monogram, PMC. No. 16. TAX. P. 812

Potin

4. Obv. Lakshmī standing facing between symbols B and E. (b)
Rev. Abhisheka of Lakshmī BMC. AI. XXVI. 12

5.[2] Obv. Lion on r. ; symbol D above. Traces of corrupt Gk. legend.
Rev. Heracles standing to l. with r. hand out, and club and lion-skin on l. arm. (d) BMC. AI. XLIII. 21

6. Obv. As on 5.
Rev. As on 5 but (e) TAX. P. 812

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1. Due to printing difficulties Kh. letters have not been drawn in orginal.

2. For varieties of this type cf. *BMC. AI.* Nos. 115-134.

ŚOḌĀSHA

Legends :

(Br.) *Mahākhatapasa putasa khatapasa Śoḍāsasa.* (a)

(Br.) *Rājuvulaputasa khatapasa Śoḍasasa.* (b)

(Br.) *Mahākhatapasa Śoḍasasa.* (c)

Potin

1. Obv. Lakshmī standing facing, between symbols B and C. (a)
   Rev. Abhisheka of Lakshmī BMC. AI. XXVI. 16

Copper

2. Obv. As on 1
   Rev. As on 1. BMC. AI. XXVI. 14

3. Obv. As on 1 but (b)
   Rev. As on 1 BMC. AI. XXVI. 18

4. Obv. As on 1 and symbol F. (c)
   Rev. As on 1. BMC. AI. XLIII. 15

II. ŚAKA KINGS OF WESTERN INDIA[1]

BHŪMAKA

Legends :

(Br.) [......] *Bhūmaka[sa]* (a)

(Br.) *Kshaharatasa kshatrapasa Bhūmakasa* (b)

(Kh.) *Chhaharadasa chhatrapasa Bhumakasa* (c)

(Kh.) *Chhatrapasa chhaharatasa Bhumakasa* (d)

Copper

1. Obv. Arrow and thunderbolt, a pellet between the two. (c)
   Rev. Lion with upraised paw to r. and wheel on a vertical shaft, both on a horizontal base line. Traces of Brāhmī inscription : illegible. BMC. AWK. IX. 237

2. Obv. As on 1. Traces of Kh. inscription illegible.
   Rev. As on 1. (b) BMC. AWK. IX. 238

1. This includes the Kshaharāta Kings and the Kārdamakas.

3. Obv. As on 1. (d)
Kev. As on 1 but wheel on l. and lion on r. (a) R 3 BMC. AWK. IX. 241

NAHAPĀNA

Legends.

(Corrupt Gk. inscription) PAИИIωI AИRAAACCC ИAAPNAACC...... (a)

(Br.) [...*Na*] *hapānasa* (b)

(Br.) *Rājña kshaharātasa Nahapānasa* (c)

(Kh.) *Raño Chhaharatasa Nahapanasa* (d)

Silver

1. Obv. Bust of king to r. (a)
Rev. Arrow pointing downwards; r. thunderbolt; between, a pellet. (c) and (d)
BMC. AWK. IX. 243

Copper

2. Obv. Thunderbolt; r. Arrow pointing downwards. (b)
Rev. Tree with large leaves within railing. BMC. AWK. IX. 252

CHASHṬANA

Legends.

(Corrupt Gk.)

...ANNIωIAT...CIACTANCA... (a)

(Br.) *Rājño Kshatrapasa Ghsamotikaputrasa* [*Chashṭanasa*] (b)

(Br.) *Rājño Kshatrapasa* [*Chashṭanasa*] (c)

(Br.) [*Rājño Mahakshatra*]*pasa Ghsamotikaputrasa Cha*[*ṣṭanasa*] (d)

(Br.) *Rā*[*j*]*ño* .....*mota*[*ti*]-*kaputrasa Chashṭanasa* (e)

(Kh.) *Chaṭhanasa* (f)

(Kh.) *Raño Cha* [...... ....] (g)

(Kh.) *Chhatrapasa Ghsamodikasa*........ (h)

Silver

1.	Obv.	Bust of King r.	(a)	
	Rev.	Crescent on l., star on r.	(b)	BMC. AWK. X. El.
2.	Obv.	As on 1.	(a)	
	Rev.	Chaitya of three arches, surmounted by crescent; beneath waved line; l., crescent; r., star.	(c) & (g)	BMC. AWK. X. 259
3.	Obv.	As on 1.	(a)	
	Rev.	As on 2.	(d)	BMC. AWK. X. 260
4.	Obv.	As on 1.	(a)	
	Rev.	Chaitya of six arches surmounted by crescent; beneath waved line; l. star; r. crescent.	(d)	JNSI, XIV. Pl. 1.5.
5.	Obv.	As on 1.	(a)	
	Rev.	As on 2.	(d) & (f)	BMC. AWK. X. 261
6.	Obv.	As on 1. but no distinct trace of	(a)	BM ex
	Rev.	As on 5 but no distinct trace of	(f)	Cunningham

Copper (?)

7.	Obv.	Horse standing to r. facing a post.	(a)	
	Rev.	As on 2 but possibly without the waved line beneath. Illegible Br. inscription.		BMC. AWK. X. 264
8.	Obv.	Rayed Sun on r.. crescent on l.	(e)	
	Rev.	As on 2	(h)	JNSI. XVIII. pp. 169-70

JAYADĀMAN

Legends.

Corrupt Gk. inscription (a)

(Br.) *Rājño Kshatrapasa Svāmi Jayadāmasa* (b)

Copper

1.	Obv.	Humped bull to r., facing a trident with battle-axe.	(a)	
	Rev.	Chaitya of six arches, surmounted by crescent; l., crescent; r., star.	(b)	BMC. AWK. X. 265

2. Obv. Elephant to r. Indistinct Br. inscription.
Rev. The Ujjain symbol. BMC. AWK. X. 269

RUDRADĀMAN I

Legends.

Corrupt Gk. inscription (a)

(Br.) *Rājño Kshatrapasa Jayadāma-putrasa Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudradāmasa* (b)

(Br.) *Rājño Kshatrapasa Jayadāmasa putrasa Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudradāmasa* (c)

Silver

1. Obv. Bust of king to r. (a)
Rev. Chaitya of three arches, surmounted by crescent ; beneath, waved line ; 1., crescent ; r., star ; border of dots. (b) BMC. AWK. X. 271

2. Obv. As on 1
Rev. As on 1 but (c) BMC. AWK. X. 276

DĀMAGHSADA (DĀMAJADAŚRĪ) I

Legends.

(Br.) *Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudra-dāmaputrasa Rājño Kshatrapasa Dāmaghsadasa* (a)

(Br.) *Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudra-dāmna putrasa Rājño Kshatrapasa Dāmajadaśriya* (b

(Br.) [......] *Rudradāmnaḥ putrasya* [...] *Kshatrapasya Dāma* [*ghsa...*] (c)

(Br.) *Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudra-dāmna Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Dāmajadaśriya* (d)

Silver

1. Obv. Bust of king to r.
Rev. Chaitya, &c. as Rudradāman I's 1. (a) BMC. AWK. X. 281

2. Obv. As on 1.
Rev. As on 1 but (b) BMC. AWK. X. 283

3. Obv. As on 1.
Rev. As on 1 but (c) BMC. AWK. X. 285

4. Obv. As on 1.
Rev. As on 1 but (d) BMC. AWK. X. 286

JĪVADĀMAN

Legends.

Corrupt Gk. inscription. (a)

(Br.) *Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Dāmajadaśriya putrasa Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Jīvadāmna* (b)

(Br.) *Rāño Mahākshatrapasa Dāmajadasa putrasa Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Jīvadāmasa* (c)

(Br.) *Rāño Mahākshatrapasa Jīvadāmasa* (d)

Silver

1. Obv. Bust of king to r. ; behind, date. (a)
Rev. Chaitya, etc. (b) BMC. AWK. XI. 288

2. Obv. As on 1.
Rev. As on 1. but (c) BMC. AWK. XI, 289

Potin

3. Obv. Humped bull standing to r. ; above, date. (a)
Rev. As on 1. but (b) BMC. AWK. XI. 293

RUDRASIṂHA I

Legends.

Corrupt Gk. inscription (a)

(Br.) *Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudradāmaputrasa Rājño Kshatrapasa Rudrasīhasa* (b)

(Br.) *Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudradāmna putrasa Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudrasīhasa* (c)

(Br.) *Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudradāmaputrasa Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudrasīhasa* (d)

(Br.) *Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudradāmna putrasa Rājña (or jño) Kshatrapasa Rudrasīhasa* (e)

(Br.) *Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudrasīhasa* (f)

Silver

1.	Obv.	Bust of king to r.; behind, date.	(a)	
	Rev.	Chaitya, &c.	(b)	BMC. AWK. XI. 295
2.	Obv.	As on 1.		
	Rev.	As on 1 but	(c)	BMC. AWK. XI. 296
3.	Obv.	As on 1.		
	Rev.	As on 1 but	(d)	BMC. AWK. XI. 306
4.	Obv.	As on 1.		
	Rev.	As on 1 but	(e)	BMC. AWK. XI. 313

Potin

5.	Obv.	Humped bull standing to r. ; above, date.	(a)	
	Rev.	Chaitya, &c.	(f)	BMC. AWK. XI. 324

SATYADĀMAN

Legends :

Corrupt Gk. legend. (a)

(Br.) *Rājño Mahākshatrapasya Dāmajadaśriya putrasya Rājño Kshatrapasya Satyadāmna* (b)

Silver

1.	Obv.	Bust of king to r. ; behind head, date.	(a)	
	Rev.	Caitya, &c.	(b)	BMC. AWK. XII. J.B.

RUDRASENA I.

Legends :

Corrupt Gk. inscription. (a)

(Br.) *Rājño Mahākshatrapsa Rudrasīhasa putrasa Rājña Kshatrapasa Rudrasenasa* (b)

(Br.) *Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudrasīhasa putrasa Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudrasenasa* (c)

(Br.) *Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudrasīhaputrasa Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudrasenasa* (d)

Silver

1. Obv. Bust of king to r. ; behind head, date. (a) BMC. AWK. XII. 328
   Rev. Chaitya, &c. (b)
2. Obv. As on 1.
   Rev. As on 1 but (c) BMC. AWK. XII. 331
3. Obv. As on 1.
   Rev. As on 1 but (d) BMC. AWK. XII. 335

Potin

4. Obv. Elephant standing to r. ; above, star on l. and crescent on r.
   Rev. Chaitya, &c. ; in exergue, date : circular border of dots. BMC. AWK. XII. 374

VIŚVA[SIṂHA or SENA]

Legend :

Corrupt Gk. inscription (a)

(Br.) [...] *putrasa Rajña Kshatrapasa Viśva* [...] (b)

Silver

1. Obv. Bust of King to r. behind head, date. (a)
   Rev. Chaitya etc. (b) JNSI. XVIII. pp. 49-50

PṚTHIVĪSENA

Legends :

Corrupt Gk. inscription (a)

(Br.) *Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudrasenasa putrasa Rājno Kshatrapasa Pṛthivīsenasa* (b)

Silver

1. Obv. Bust of king to r. ; behind head, date. (a)
   Rev. Chaitya, &c. BMC. AWK. XII. 377

SANGHADĀMAN

Legends :

Corrupt Gk. inscription (a)

(Br.) *Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudrasīhasa putrasa Rājño Mahākshatrapasya Saṅghadāmna* (b)

Silver

1\. Obv. Bust of king to r. ; behind head, date. (a)
Rev. Chaitya, &c. (b) BMC. AWK. XII. 378

DÁMASENA

Legends :

Corrupt Gk. inscription. (a)

(Br.) *Rajño Mahākshatrapasa Rudrasīhasa putrasa Rajño Mahākshatrapasa Dāmasenasa* (b)

Silver

1\. Obv. Bust of king to r. ; behind head, date. (a)
Rev. Chaitya, &c. (b) BMC. AWK. XIII. 379

2\. Obv. As on 1.
Rev. As on 1. but star on 1. and crescent on r. BMC. AWK. XIII. 381

Potin

3.[1] Obv. Elephant standing to r. ; above, 1. star, r. crescent. circular border of dots.
Rev Chaitya, &c ; in exergue, date : border of dots. BMC. AWK. XIII. 402

DĀMAJADAŚRI II

Legends :

Corrupt Gk. inscriptions. (a)

(Br). *Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Rudrasenaputrasa Rājñaḥ Kshatrapasa Dāmajadaśriyaḥ.* (b)

Silver

1. Obv. Bust of king to r.; behind head, date. (a)
Rev. Chaitya, &c. (b) BMC. AWK. XIII. 421

2. Obv. As on 1.
Rev. As on 1 but star on 1. and crescent on r. BMC. AWK. XIII. 425

VĪRADĀMAN

Legends :

Corrupt Gk. inscriptions. (a)

(Br.) *Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Dāmasenasa putrasa Rājñaḥ Kshatrapasa Vīradāmnaḥ.* (b)

Silver

1. Obv. Bust of king to r.; behind, head, date. (a)
Rev. Chaitya, &c. (b) BMC. AWK. XIII. 426

YASODĀMAN

Legends :

Corrupt Gk. inscriptions. (a)

(Br.) *Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Dāmasenasa putrasa Rājñaḥ Kshatrapasa Yaśodāmnaḥ* (b)

(Br.) *Rājno Mahākshatrapasa Dāmasenasa putrasa Rajño Mahākshatrapasa Yaśodāmnaḥ.* (c)

Silver

1. Obv. Bust of king to r.; behind head, date. (a)
Rev. Chaitya, &c. (b) BMC. AWK. XIV. 480

2. Obv. As on 1.
Rev. As on 1 but (c) BMC. AWK. XIV. 485

VIJAYASENA

Legend ;

Corrupt Gk. inscription. (a)

(Br.) *Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Dāmasenasa putrasa Rajñah Kshatrapasa Vijayasenasa* (b)

(Br.) *Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Dāmasenaputrasa Rājño Mahākshhatrapasa Vijayasenasa* (c)

Silver

1; Obv. Bust of king to r.; behind head, date. (a)
Rev. Chaitya, &c. (b) BMC. AWK. XIV. 488

2. Obv. As on 1.
Rev. As on 1 but (c) BMC. AWK. XIV. 495

DĀMAJADAŚRI III

Legends :

Corrupt Gk. inscription. (a)

(Br.) *Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Dāmasenaputrasa Rajño Mahākshatrapasa Dāmajadaśriya (or yaḥ.)* (b)

Silver

1. Obv. Bust of king to r. ; behind head, date. (a)
Rev. Chaitya, &c. (b) BMC. AWK. XIV. 556

RUDRASENA II

Legends :

Corrupt Gk. inscription. (a)

(Br.) *Rājno Kshatrapasa Vīradāmaputrasa Rājno Mahākshatrapasa Rudrasenasa* (b)

Silver

1. Obv. Bust of king to r. ; behind head, date. (a)
Rev. Chaitya, &c. (b) BMC. AWK. XV. 581

VIŚVASIMHA

Legends :

Corrupt Gk. inscription. (a)

(Br.) *Rājño Mhākshatrapasa Rājñaḥ Kshatrapasa Viśvasīhasa* (b)

(Br.) *Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Ruḍrasenaputrasa Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Viśvasīhasa* (c)

Silver

1. Obv. Bust of king to r. ; behind head, date. (a)
Rev. Chaitya, &c. (b) BMC. AWK. XV. 627

2. Obv. As on 1.
Rev. As on 1 but (c) BMC. AWK. XV. 663

BHARTṚIDĀMAN

Legends :

Corrupt Gk. inscription. (a)

(Br.) *Rājno Mahākshatrapasa Rudrasenaputrasa Rājnaḥ Kshatrapasa Bhartṛidāmnaḥ.* (b)

(Br.) *Rājno Mahākshatrapasa Rudrasenaputrasa Rājno Mahākshatrapasa Bhartṛidāmnaḥ* (c)

Silver

1. Obv. Bust of king to r. ; behind head, date. (a)
Rev. Chaitya, &c. (b) BMC. AWK. XV. 665

2. Obv. As on 1.
Rev. As on 1 but (c) BMC. AWK. XVI. 678

VIŚVASENA

Legends :

Corrupt Gk. inscription. (a)

(Br.) *Rājno Mahākshatrapasa Bhartṛidāmaputrasa Rājno Kshatrapasa Viśvasenasa.* (b)

Silver

1. Obv. Bust of king to r. ; behind head, date. (a)
Rev. Chaitya, &c. (b) BMC. AWK. XVI. 719

RUDRASIMHA II[1]

Legends :

Corrupt Gk. inscription. (a)

1. On a coin of Rudrasiṃha II the letter *ha* appeared to me as a clear *na* and hence I thought the name of the king should be revised as Rudrasena (*see*, JNSI. XII, pp. 167 ff. Pl. X. 3 and 3 A.). Dr. Altekar also conceded the possibility of this reading in his editorial note (*op. cit.* p. 169). Dr. Katare, while publishing another coin of Rudrasiṃha II, is not agreeable to this suggestion (*see*, *JNSI*. XVI. pp. 207ff.). Might we not suggest that Svami Jīvadāman had two sons, namely, Rudrasena and Rudrasiṃha ?

(Br.) *Svāmi Jīvadāmaputrasa Rājno Kshatrapasa Rudrasīhasa* (b)

Silver

1. Obv. Bust of king to r. : behind (a)
head, date
Rev. Chaitya, &c. (b) BMC. AWK. XVI. 767

YASODĀMAN II

Legends :

Corrupt Gk. inscription. (a)

(Br.) *Rājña Kshatrapasa Rudrasīhaputrasa Rājna Kshatrapasa Yaśodāmnaḥ.* (b)

Silver

1. Obv. Bust of king to r. ; (a)
behind head, date.
Rev. Chaitya, &c. (b) BMC. AWK. XVII. 795

SVĀMI RUDRADĀMAN II

No coins.

SVĀMI RUDRASENA III

Legends :

Corrupt Gk. inscription. (a)

(Br.) *Rājña Mahākshatrapasa Svāmi Rudradāmaputrasa Rājna Mahākshatrapasa Svāmi Rudrasenasa* (p)

Silver

1. Obv. Bust of king to r. ; behind (a)
head, date.
Rev. Chaitya, &c. (b) BMC. AWK. XVII. 812

Lead

2. Obv. Humped bull standing to r. ;
square border of dots.
Rev. Chaitya, &c. beneath, date ; square
border of dots. square BMC. AWK. XVII. 889

SVĀMI SIṂHASENA

Legends :

Corrupt Gk. inscription. (a)

(Br.) *Rājna Mahākshatrapasa Svāmi Rudrasenasa Rājna Mahākshatrapasa svasriyasya Svāmi Siṃhasenasa* (b)

(Br.) *Mahārāja-kshatrapa-svāmi-Rudrasena-svasriyasa Rājna Mahākshatrapasa svāmi Siṃhasenasya.* (c)

Silver

1. Obv. Bust of king to r. ; behind head, date. (a)
   Rev. Chaitya, &c. (b) BMC. AWK. XVII. 904

2. Obv. As on 1.
   Rev. As on 1 but (c) BMC. AWK. XVII. 906

SVAMI [RUDRA]SENA IV

Legends :

Corrupt Gk. inscription. (a)

(Br.) *Rājna Mahākshatrapasa Svāmi Siṃhasenaputrasa Rājna Mahākshatrapasa Svāmi [Rudra] senasa* (b)

Silver

1. Obv. Bust of king to r. ; behind head, date. (a)
   Rev. Chaitya, &c. (b) BMC. AWK. XVII. J B.

SVĀMI SATYASIṂHA

No coins.

SVĀMI RUDRASIṂHA III

Legends :

Corrupt Gk. inscription. (a)

(Br.) *Rājna Mahākshatrapasa Svāmi Satyasiṃhaputrasa Rājna Mahākshatrapasa Svāmi Rudrasiṃhasa* (b)

Silver

1. Obv. Bust of king to r. ; behind head, date. (a)
Rev. Chaitya, &c. (b) BMC. AWK. XVII. 907

III. SAKA KINGS OF HYDERABAD.[1]

MĀNA

Legends :

(Br.) *Ranno Saga-Māna-Maha-sa...* (a)
(Br.) *Mahasenapatisa Bharadaja[2]-putasa Saga-Māna-Chuṭukulasa* (b)

Lead

1. Obv. In an incuse, a figure of lion with its tail upraised. (a)
Rev. Ujjain symbol with a pellet in each orb. IHQ. XXII, pp. 24 ff. JNSI. XI. Pl. II. 9

2. Obv. A large Svastika in the centre. (b)
Rev. In a circle of bead, a thunderbolt and an arrow pointing downwards. JNSI. XV. Pl. VI. 1-2

[—] YAŚAS

Legend :

(Br.) *Siri* [—] *yaśasa Mahasasa* (a)

1. Obv. Horse facing r. with a Svastika ; tree-in-railing in the field at the top. (a)
Rev. Within a rectangular enclosure of double lines, a ten-arched *chaitya* with a pellet in each arch surmounted by a crescent between two symbols like the Br. *ga* ; wavy line both at the bottom and top. JNSI. XI. Pl. II. 10

1. For full literature see, *JNSI.* XI. pp. 1 ff; *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* (1949) pp. 45 ff.; *JNSI.*, XII. pp. 87 ff 90 ff.; XV pp. 115 ff.; *IHQ*, XXII pp. 34 ff., XXVI pp. 216 ff., XXVII pp. 341 ff. Bust *contra* see, D, C. Sircar, *JNSI.* XVIII pp. 7 ff. and V. V. Mirashi's reply, *JNSI.* XVIII p. 116 ff. and A. S. Altekar, *JNSI.* XVII p. 129. I do not think Sircar's criticism is strong enough to disprove the existence of the Śaka kings of Hyderabad.

2. On one coin of this king the medial *i* over ja is clear and hence Dr. Altekar does not exclude the possibility of the correct reading being *Bharadajiputrasa.* (See *JNSI.* XV p. 116 fn. 1.)

IV. MISCELLANEOUS ŚAKA KINGS

SUNA (?) OR ANA (?)[1]

Legends:

(Br.) [—] *tasa* [*a* (?)] *ratasa* [*Sunasa* (?) *or Anasa* (?)] (a)

Obv. Winged Nike standing to 1, holding wreath in both her hands.

Rev. Lion with upraised paw to 1. and a wheel on a vertical shaft, both on a horizontal base line. (a) JNSI. XII. Pl. I. 3

ARTA (?)[2]

Legend: Corrupt Gk. Inscription. (a)

(Br.) *Kshaharatasa Kshatapasa Atasa* (?) (b)

1. Obv. Winged Nike to r., holding wreath in both her hands. (a)

Rev. Lion to 1. with a wheel on a vertical shaft, both on a horizontal base line. (a) JNSI. XVII. Pl. XV. 9

---

1. Reading of the name on coin doubtful.
2. Reading of the name on coin doubtful.

APPENDIX

DATES ON THE COINS OF THE ŚAKA KINGS OF WESTERN INDIA

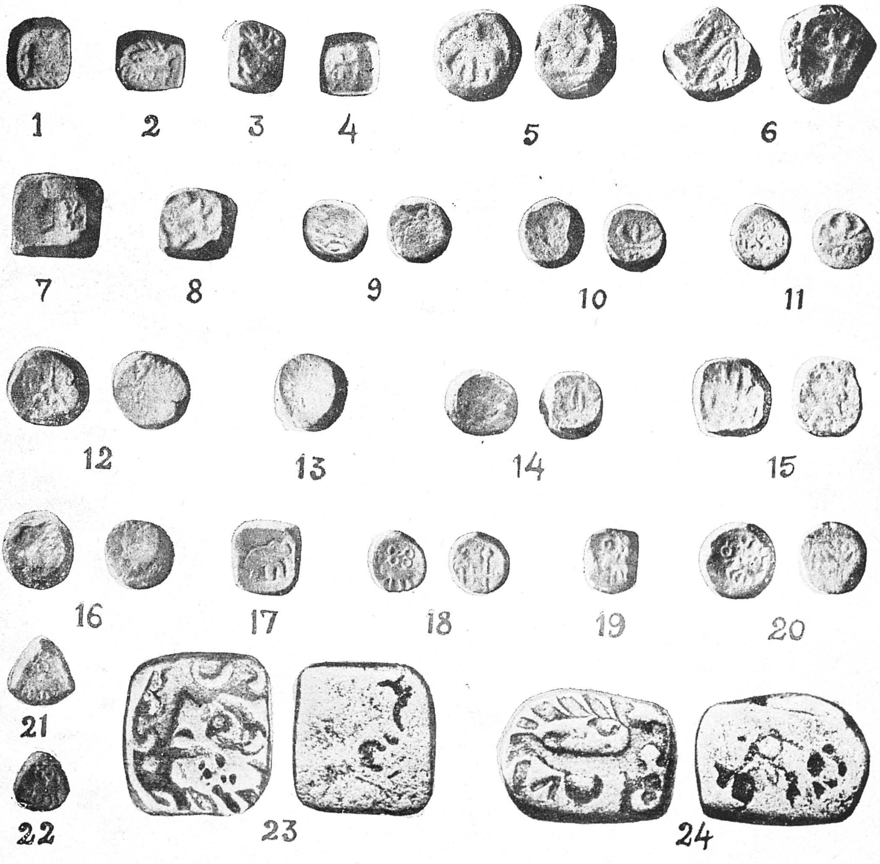
[All dates given below are in the Śaka era (=78 A.D.). Only those kings are listed whose coins bear dates]

No.	Name of Kings	As Kshatrapa	As Mahākshatrapa
1.	JĪVADĀMAN		1[00],119,120
2.	RUDRASIṂHA I	102, 103,126,107(?) 109, 110,, 112	113-116, 118
3.	SATYADĀMAN	1[??]	
4.	RUDRASENA I	121, 122, 125,126, 128, 130-142,144(?)	
5.	VISVA [SIṂHA or SENA]	125	
6.	PRITHVISENA	144	
7.	SANGHADĀMAN		144(?), 145
8.	DĀMASENA		145, 146(?), 151-158
9.	DĀMAJADAŚRĪ II	154, 155	
10.	VĪRADĀMAN	156, 157	
11.	YAŚODĀMAN	160	161
12.	VIJAYASENA	160	162-172
13.	DĀMAJADAŚRĪ III		172[3 ?], 174-176
14.	RUDRASENA II		17[?], 180, 18[1] 183 184, 18[6] 18[7], 188, 189 19[?], 194, 196
15.	VISVAŚIṂHA	199, 200	(No legible dates)
16.	BHARTṚDAMAN	200(?) 201, 20[2 ?], 203, 204	211-214,215(?)217
17.	VIŚVASENA	216-219, 220(?), 221, 226	

No.	Name of Kings	As Kshatrapa	As Mahākshatrapa
18.	RUDRASIMHA II	227, 229-231, 232(?), 233(?) 235(?), 239(?)	
19.	YAŚODĀMAN II	239, 240, 241(?) 242-244, 24[6], 249, 252-254	
20.	SVĀMĪ-RUDRA-SENA III		270-273, 280, 281, 283-286, 288, 2[8 or 9]9, 292-294, 298, 300
21.	SVAMĪ-SIMHA-SENA		304
22.	SVAMĪ-RUDRA-SIMHA III		31[?]

[The dates given above are on the basis of the coins in the British Museum which I have been able to check. There are lots of other coins, published and unpublished, which have to be carefully examined before dates mentioned on them may be enumerated. I learn from Shri P. L. Gupta that the Prince of Wales Museum has got a very good collection of the coins of the Śaka kings of Western India. A Supplementary list of dates on the coins of these kings will therefore be published after due checking later on.]

O

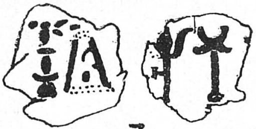


O—Twenty-Stater Gold Piece of Eucratides I
and
1–24 Coins from Padmāvati

PLATE X

1

2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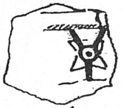
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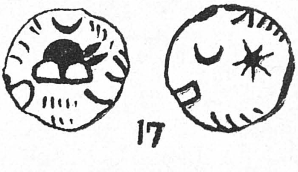
17

Fig.s 1–10, Coins from Padmāvati
Figs. 11–17 Western Kshatrapa Coins

PLATE XI

1–3, Gāngeyadeva ; 4–8, Jayasiṃha ;
9, Farrukhsiyar and 10–12, Gujarat Sultans

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; ḍ ڈ ; d د ; kh خ ; ḥ ح ; ch چ ; j ج ; th ث ; ṭ ٹ ; t ت ; p پ ; b ب ; a ا
a' ع ; ẓ ظ ; ṭ ط ; ẓ ض ; ṣ ص ; sh ش ; s س ; zh ژ ; z ز ; ṛ ڑ ; r ر ; z ذ
;y ی ; h ہ ; w و ; n ن ; m م ; l ل ; g گ ; k ک ; q ق ; f ف ; gh غ

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CATALOGUE OF THE GUPTA GOLD COINS
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